P
2
N31

The Nation.

TN PRICE TEN 009AUG29 81 1 01
PERIODICALSDEPT
THE SHERROD LIBRARY
E TENNESSEE ST UNIV
JOHNSON CITY TENN
37614
**

August 8-15, 1981 $1.25

EDITORIAL

SEIZE THE DAY

The papers were full of the death of *The Washington Star*—only one daily newspaper left in the nation's capital, the loss of 1,427 jobs, how Time Inc., the corporation built on a weekly, killed the daily it never understood, and all that.

Never mind that *The Star* was primarily a white paper in a town that's 70 percent black. We join in mourning this death in the afternoon. We deplore the dwindling number of two-paper towns, the disappearing competition, the homogenization of news sources, the end of an interesting newspaper.

But there's nothing we can do about that. There is something, however, that readers who care about the competition of ideas, a truly diverse national press and alternative perspectives on news developments can and should do before it's too late.

In These Times, a five-year-old weekly that specializes in reporting about what's going on in the world, what's going on in the labor movement and what's going on on the left, is in trouble. It is the first frankly socialist publication within living memory to get official support from many major unions, especially on the district and local levels, and it is an important source of news for activists and journalists, establishment and otherwise.

When we last asked, *In These Times* had 20,147 paid subscribers. If they are going to stay in business, they need another 5,000 to 10,000. We value *In These Times*, as we value *The Progressive*, *Commonweal*, *Mother Jones*, *Working Papers For a New Society* and other independent journals struggling against the tides and the postal rates.

It only costs $19.50 for a year's worth of *In These Times*, and you should send your money to: 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622.

CASEY'S PLAGIARISM
Murray Waas
Jeff Chester

OFFSHORE OIL LEASES
Fred J. Cook

THE CUBANS IN AFRICA
Michael Manley

TIMERMAN AND THE JEWS
Aryeh Neier
Henry Siegman
Benno Weiser Varon

JAPANESE WORKERS, JAPANESE MANAGEMENT
Jules Cohn

THE RUSSIAN GAMBLE

MOSCOW MAKES UP TO BAGHDAD

FRED HALLIDAY

In a policy change with potentially major implications for the Persian Gulf region, the Soviet Union has let it be known that it is prepared to supply Iraq with military equipment once again. Although linked by a twenty-year friendship treaty, Iraq and the Soviet Union have been disputing Soviet reluctance to send arms to Iraq in the wake of that country's invasion of Iran last September. The Iraqis have privately charged that 140 Soviet tanks that were on ships at the mouth of the gulf en route to Iraq when the war broke out were sent back to Odessa on Soviet instructions. Iraq has made up its losses by buying on the open market and by receiving equipment from such friendly Arab states as Jordan. Even Egypt, a foe of Iraq's in inter-Arab affairs, has sent Soviet-made equipment to help the Iraqis, who came to Egypt's aid in the 1973 war with Israel.

The news of the policy shift came during the visit of a Soviet trade mission to Iraq in April and was confirmed during the visit of a high-level Iraqi official to Moscow in June. While no supplies have as yet been dispatched, the change signals a renewed Russian willingness to cooperate. Iraq has for its part modified its position on Afghanistan, an issue on which it had previously opposed the Russians. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's April 27 message of greetings to President Babrak Karmal on the third anniversary of the Afghan revolution was noticeably cordial.

The Russian shift is a result of three converging factors. The first is that Moscow has not found it possible to establish a good working

(*Continued on Page 11*)

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

INTERTEL PROTESTS

Washington, D.C.

It has been brought to my attention that in your October 4, 1980, issue there was an article by Fred J. Cook entitled "Somebody Doesn't Like Hy-Fuel." On page 308 of this article the following false and libelous matter appears:

> Schaflander, Brown and four other employees of Consumers Solar reported that helicopters constantly circled over their Menlo Park plant and that they were followed on the highways wherever they went by burly-looking thugs in three vehicles: a white pickup truck; a two-door, red wide-track Pontiac, and a blue Thunderbird. A check on the license numbers of these cars showed, Schaflander says, that they belonged to Intertel, a detective agency owned by Resorts International.
>
> The rough stuff was only beginning. "Two of our hydrogen-converted cars were stolen off our vans," Schaflander says. "Then one of our cars was driven off the road by a truck, and the driver suffered a concussion and a fractured shoulder. Well, we have some young and pretty dedicated people working for us, and they caught up with the truck, drove it off the road and sent three people to the hospital. I don't like it. It's a dirty way to have a fight, but what choice do you have?"

I want to put you on notice that we are taking appropriate steps regarding these false statements attributed to Dr. Gerald Schaflander in the above referenced article. This letter is also intended to put you on notice that the information is false and libelous and, therefore, we believe a retraction is appropriate so that a further re-publication of this false and libelous information through other media will not occur.

Your immediate attention to this matter is imperative.

Thomas J. McKeon
Executive Vice President
General Counsel, Intertel

COOK REPLIES

Interlaken, N.J.

Dr. Schaflander and Stephen Wright, the president of Consumers Solar, have both confirmed the incidents described in my article.

Fred J. Cook

THE CHICAGO SETTLEMENT

Chicago

As one of the lawyers who negotiated the Chicago "police spying" settlements, I agree above all with your comment on "The Red Squad Settlements Controversy" [Richard Gutman, Flint Taylor and Brian Glick, *The Nation*, July 11-18] that "these are not times for heated fractiousness on the left."

I also agree that discussion can help to clarify issues that will inevitably arise again in the future. For that purpose, I must respectfully differ with the view of Flint Taylor and Brian Glick that the Chicago settlement sells out militant radicals in favor of the more moderate left. Yes, it provides peaceful, law-abiding progressives more protection from government surveillance and harassment than it affords those whose political tactics include illegal violence. What else could one expect from a legal document grounded in American law?

Nonetheless, it is wrong to imply that the Chicago settlement provides no protection to groups using illegal tactics. It protects their lawful—but not their unlawful—activities from disruption. Since when is the Federal Bureau of Investigation not legally free to "disrupt" a planned political bombing? To recognize this is not "to endorse the propaganda that armed resistance to colonial and racist violence is terrorism." It is simply to acknowledge that such "armed resistance" is generally illegal, and may legally be repressed, even though one may support it politically.

In addition to this general point, three specific contentions of Taylor and Glick ought not to stand unrebutted:

(*1*) The Chicago settlement has not "pardoned the culprits"; it explicitly refuses to acknowledge the legality of any of their past or present activities. They remain subject to damage suits, including the pending suit by Fred Hampton's family.

(*2*) The defendants have indeed been "held publicly accountable for their crimes against the people." With revelations from the lawsuit, we have successfully "tried them in the press" for years. In the settlement itself, the F.B.I. admits among other things that it "disrupted and harassed the lawful activities" of Chicagoans and that it committed "at least 500 black-bag jobs" in Chicago alone. The value of this admission is illustrated by Prof. Athan Theoharis's (unacknowledged) reliance on it in his article "New Light on Old Black-Bag Jobs" in the same issue of *The Nation*.

(*3*) The settlement does not authorize the F.B.I. to keep watch over or disrupt groups whose only "crime" is a violation of the unconstitutionally broad language of the Smith Act. Even the government has conceded this in papers filed in the Chicago court.

Doug Cassel

READERS OBJECT

Staten Island, N.Y.

Years ago there was a general agreement among people of taste that the racial and ethnic stereotype should be terminated. The attempt to parody one group by another was happily thought ended. The usual form had been to vilify a minority by a majority. It was common in this country because the minorities were generally foreigners who were denigrated by the majority because they were foreigners and because their ways were different. The people who had been the butt of it most often, and who most resented the stereotype, were the Jews. They were most instrumental in stopping it.

Now we have Calvin Trillin, undoubtedly a WASP, using the stereotype in his July 4 column ["Variations," *The Nation*] to vilify the Irish for prejudice against the Jews. Instead of sending the article back with a strong rejection, *The Nation* has encouraged the stereotype by printing it.

We know that such prejudice exists. We know it exists among all peoples, Jews as well as Irish, Italians, Arabs, Armenians, Turks, Greeks, Catholics, Protestants, etc. There are no exceptions. Those who contend they have no prejudices are often the most prejudiced. To single out one people, in this case the Irish, manifests the prejudices of Trillin and your magazine. The stereotype is what Hitler encouraged. We should get rid of it.

John Branigan

New York City

I am one of *The Nation*'s avid readers but I am a bit less avid this morning. What has put me off is the line in Calvin Trillin's July 4 column that reads: "In the dark, neoconservatives begin imagining they're going to be attacked by black teen-agers."

I find the sentence about as funny as I'd find a joke about a supposed Jewish characteristic written by a writer who is black. It's tasteless, insensitive and unworthy of Calvin Trillin, not to mention *The Nation*.

Dorothy Rudo

Conshohocken, Pa.

Calvin Trillin's piece in the July 4 issue is in the worst taste possible, even going so far as to pin on the Jews the ancient fabrication of their crucifying Jesus, a claim that even the Catholic Church has expressed doubts about.

Contrary to the editors' remark in the June 20 issue, in answer to the letter of Ann Bourman, that "we need Trillin every day," I would strongly urge that he be omitted from your magazine henceforth. He violates the fundamental rule of the humane humorist: to ridicule self only. To make others the object of ridicule is inexcusable and shows a callous disregard for their sensitivities.

I include the editors of *The Nation* in my criticisms. They should have been sensitive to the rot and refused to print it.

Abraham Egnal

TRILLIN REPLIES

New York City

Hitler O.K., Branigan, but watch who you're calling a WASP.

Calvin Trillin

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double-spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Longer letters may be edited for reasons of space.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 233, Number 4

COVER
Editorial: Seize the Day
The Russian Gamble:
Moscow Makes Up to Baghdad — *Fred Halliday*

LETTERS
98

EDITORIALS
99 Checking Up on Casey
100 Sworn Testimony — *Murray Waas and Jeff Chester*
101 Nuclear New Math — *William M. Arkin*
101 Information Flow
102 Unjust Deserts
102 Liberal Dupes
103 *Variations* — *Calvin Trillin*

Drawings by Frances Jetter

ARTICLES
104 Offshore Oil and Gas:
Watt Releases the Sea — *Fred J. Cook*
106 Straight Talk on Cuba:
More Pluralist Than Thou — *Michael Manley*
108 Picking Up the Pieces:
Whatever Became of the D.S.G.? — *Saul B. Shapiro*

AN EXCHANGE
112 Timerman and the Jews — *Henry Siegman, Benno Weiser Varon, Aryeh Neier*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
117 Pascale and Athos: The Art of Japanese Management
Ouchi: Theory Z
Clark: The Japanese Company — *Jules Cohn*
119 Mendelson: Early Auden — *Robert B. Shaw*
121 Theater — *Richard Gilman*
123 Films — *Robert Hatch*

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editor,* Kai Bird; *Assistant Editor,* Amy Wilentz; *Literary Editor,* Richard Pollak; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Elena Brunet; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Editor,* Janet Gold; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Barbara Dudley Davis, Judith Long; *Editorial Assistant,* Eric Etheridge; *Editorial Secretary,* Ola Lyon.

Departments: Architecture, Jane Holtz Kay; *Films,* Robert Hatch; *Music,* David Hamilton; *White House Correspondent,* Robert Sherrill. *Correspondents: Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Variations*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*), Elizabeth Farnsworth & Stephen Talbot (*Dispatches*). *Contributing Editors,* Blair Clark, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Robert Lekachman, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish

Advertising Manager, Carole Kraemer; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Assistant to Publisher,* Laurie Lipper; *Circulation Manager,* Suzanne Noell; *Subscription Manager,* Stephen King; *Classified,* Deborah Kriger; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen; *Publishing Consultant,* Jack Berkowitz; *Circulation Consultant,* Paul Goldberg.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1981 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address:* Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, $30; two years, $50; six months, $15. Add $5 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $7 other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. **Please allow 5-7 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation,* Subscription Services, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305.

EDITORIALS.

Checking Up On Casey

In recent days, various members of the U.S. Senate and others have called for the resignation of William Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, citing his poor judgment in appointing Max Hugel, a nonprofessional with a history of financial manipulation, as director of covert operations; his own misrepresentation of the value of securities when he was an officer of the now bankrupt Multiponics Inc.; and his legal representation of a New Jersey firm whose top officials had been linked to organized-crime figures.

We must admit that at first glance Casey and Hugel's backgrounds in fraud, misrepresentation and business dealings mingling the worlds of the Mafia, high finance and government made them seem ideally suited to run the C.I.A. The fact that they had been caught, while regrettable, seemed in the tradition of an agency which itself has been caught fomenting coups from Guatemala to Iran.

Now, however, Murray Waas and Jeff Chester reveal yet another Casey deception (see page 100), and this one is so blatant that it makes us worry about his competence as a deceiver. It also makes us worry about the competence of members of the Senate as confirmers. It is not merely that Casey was found guilty of plagiarism, or that he misled the senators in his 1971 confirmation hearings for the job of

EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
AUG 4 1981

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Securities and Exchange Commission chief. What really troubles us is that the transcript of Casey's 1961 trial for plagiarism, which contradicts his 1971 testimony about that plagiarism and which was later inserted in the published version of the Senate Banking Committee's hearings, was never brought to bear by any of the senators in his Intelligence Committee confirmation hearings this year.

It is important to note that much of the animus against Max Hugel originated with the agency's old-boy network. Former C.I.A. Assistant Deputy of Plans Cord Meyer broke the Hugel story, raising questions not so much about Hugel's ethics as about the wisdom of appointing this "able amateur" for the "professional's" job as supervisor of covert actions. The real issue that ought to be debated is not who runs the agency but whether it will continue its disastrous covert operations, which seem to require the old professionals to manage them.

Meanwhile, we anxiously await the final verdict of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who said at the time of Casey's C.I.A. confirmation hearings, "Were there more men such as William Casey in this nation, a President would have less difficulty in filling his Cabinet. . . ."

Sworn Testimony

It was April 1971. William Casey had been appointed by President Richard Nixon to head the Securities and Exchange Commission, and at his confirmation hearings, the Senate Banking Committee wanted to know more about Casey's settlement in 1961 of a civil suit charging that he had plagiarized a colleague's book.

A jury found that Casey and his company, the Institute for Business Planning, had committed plagiarism, and awarded damages against them totaling $41,450. By agreeing not to appeal, they were able to settle out of court for $20,500. Casey acknowledged all of this in the 1971 confirmation hearings. But a close reading shows that some of his sworn testimony to the Senate at that time directly contradicted his sworn statements in the 1961 court record.

The facts: In August 1956, Casey was a vice president of the institute, a subsidiary of the publishing company Prentice-Hall. In that capacity he received and passed on to Prentice-Hall a manuscript entitled *Employee Pay, Benefits and Taxes*, written by Harry Fields, a San Francisco tax attorney. At first, Prentice-Hall expressed interest in the book, but on November 1, 1956, the publisher wrote Fields to say that they could not publish it, mentioning that Casey felt "the subject matter was too closely associated with one of [our] forthcoming publications to enable [us] to use it."

In December 1956 and in January 1957, Casey's company published two short books, part of a series entitled *Pay Plans*, which were indeed very "closely associated" with the Fields manuscript. At least two and a half pages of that manuscript were printed verbatim in Casey's *Pay Plans*.

When Fields learned of the plagiarism, he confronted Casey, who claimed that a young attorney in the institute was responsible. In a letter to Fields dated May 6, 1957, Casey wrote: "I gave your manuscript to . . . one of the young men who at that time prepared editorial material for *Pay Plans*, and told him to check to see whether or not *Pay Plans* then covered all the points that were developed in your manuscript. He apparently clipped a couple of pages and put them in the December supplement. He also took additional material and submitted it for publication in the January supplement. I happened to have caught this and was greatly indignant because I had been paying him to write fresh material and took a dim view of his lifting anything. [The attorney] is no longer associated with this office."

In 1971, when he testified before the Senate Banking Committee, Casey told a different story. "The staff reported to me," he said, "that the Fields manuscript was a rehash of the law and regulations on the subject, and we had no interest in it. . . . He [Fields] later made the claim that his material had been used in one of our publications and instituted suit. *We felt that his claim had no merit.* [Emphasis added.] Our editors testified they had developed their material directly from the law and regulations."*

When Casey was asked why he had agreed to settle out of court and pay the author of the allegedly pirated manuscript $20,500, he said: "The judge who had presided over the case did a highly unusual thing: He called in the two attorneys and he said to them that the verdict was not supported by the evidence in the case, and that he would set it aside, and he recommended that the parties get together and settle it. He was going to set this verdict aside; unless the attorneys could settle it he would call for a new trial."

The trial record, however, shows that the judge did no such thing. When the Senate investigators wrote to J. Braxton Craven Jr., the Federal judge who had heard the 1961 case, Craven wrote back in a letter dated February 18, 1971: "I do not recall telling the two attorneys, or anyone else, after the trial that the verdict was not supported by the evidence, and I am as reasonably sure as one can be after nine years that I made no such statement. I did not indicate that I would set the verdict aside and order a new trial unless the parties got together and settled the case. In five years as a state trial judge and five years as a Federal trial judge, I do not recall ever having done that."

Later in his testimony, Casey was asked by the senators

*In the second round of Casey's 1971 confirmation hearing, he told yet another story:

Senator Proxmire: "When you first testified before our committee . . . Mr. Casey, you indicated that the Fields plagiarism case had no merit."

Mr. Casey: " . . . When I say there was no merit I was talking in a broad way. . . . I was merely characterizing, Senator. I said that the bulk of the trial, the bulk of the time, was devoted to a comparison of sources of manuscript, and the trial went way beyond these two and a half pages because Mr. Fields subsequently made other claims never established or proven."

Senator Proxmire: "I got the impression that your testimony was worded to give this committee the impression there was no plagiarism. . . . "

Mr. Casey: "I have always, in letters and every other way, indicated that two and a half pages had accidentally, without my knowledge or control, crept into our publication."

In the committee's final report, Proxmire concluded, "I believe the Fields case shows that Casey irresponsibly misrepresented the facts before a Congressional Committee and that he deliberately attempted to steal the works of an unknown writer. Either of these charges should disqualify him from becoming the chairman of the S.E.C."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

why the court record of the plagiarism trial had been sealed by the judge. Casey responded: "This was done by, my attorney tells me, the judge's initiative."

But Judge Craven wrote the Senate investigators, "The sealing of the transcript of the trial from public view was not done at my initiative." The court records show that, in fact, it was Casey who asked for a sealed record. "I would like to have the record sealed entirely," Casey said.

Although the committee has completed the initial stage of its investigation, it ought to go back and look closely at the record of the plagiarism case. At one point in the pretrial phase, Casey threatened Fields's lawyer with "more violence," and Fields's lawyer said, "I want the record to show that Mr. Casey struck me in the face." Casey's lawyer disputed that. Casey should be asked to explain all of these discrepancies. Did he try to mislead the senators in 1971 and whitewash his role in the plagiarism case? Is he fit to be the Director of Central Intelligence? MURRAY WAAS AND JEFF CHESTER

Murray Waas is a freelance writer based in Philadelphia; Jeff Chester is a freelance writer based in San Francisco.

Nuclear New Math

Seven thousand minus 1,000 equals 6,000, correct? Not in the super-secret world of nuclear weapons, where 7,000 minus 1,000 is said to equal 7,000. That, or the United States is cheating in its arithmetic.

In 1967, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara stated publicly for the first time that there were 7,000 U.S. nuclear warheads in Europe. Since then, subsequent Defense Department chiefs have confirmed that number. Harold Brown, President Carter's Secretary of Defense, quoted the same figure on several occasions during his tenure at the Pentagon—until the Defense Department censored him.

In late January, Brown submitted his last "posture statement" on the U.S. military to Congress. Within two days, however, the preliminary copies were recalled because of "errors." Three weeks later, when "corrected" copies were distributed, defense analysts fortunate enough to have copies of the earlier statement were able to compare the two versions.

What they found was a seemingly innocuous change in terminology relating to the number of U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe. *Newsweek* magazine, in its "Periscope" section, reported that, by issuing the original statement, Brown had "inadvertently spilled a Pentagon secret." "Although the information has long been common knowledge among Western military experts—and presumably the Soviets as well—it remains officially classified," *Newsweek* explained.

It remains more than officially classified, however. The fact that the United States maintains 7,000 nuclear weapons in its European stockpile is perhaps an embarrassing secret.

In December 1979, the United States announced after a North Atlantic Treaty Organization meeting that it would withdraw 1,000 "obsolete" Honest John missiles from Europe during the coming year. Brown's January 1981 report said that "the withdrawal of the Honest John warheads from Europe announced in December 1979 is complete."

In the unrevised version of the same report, Brown had stated that "approximately 7,000 of our TNF [Theater Nuclear Force] deployments are in Europe." That sentence was changed in the corrected version to "[A] substantial portion of our TNF deployments are in Europe."

It appears that the 1,000 warheads withdrawn during 1980 were not counted as part of the 7,000 stored in Europe. In hearings on the nuclear weapons program held last year by the House Armed Services Committee, the Department of Energy, which is responsible for the maintenance of the weapons, was asked if retired weapons were counted as part of the stockpile. Its answer: "Retired weapons are not counted as part of the stockpile total."

The Honest Johns were replaced by Lance missiles in most NATO armies in 1974. Today, only Turkey and Greece still have the Honest Johns. The retired missiles were kept in Europe, awaiting the moment when their withdrawal could be used as a demonstration of NATO's "good faith" in arms control. In terms of military capability, their withdrawal meant nothing. But it was a bone thrown to the more vocal opponents of NATO nuclear modernization and a response to the Soviet withdrawal of a division from East Germany.

The revelation that the Honest Johns withdrawn had never been officially counted could prove disastrous. Not only could it add fuel to the growing antinuclear movement in Europe but it might raise new and difficult "data" problems in theater nuclear arms control talks.

Of course, the proposition could be completely wrong, and the European warhead count could number 6,000. But the syndrome of nuclear secrecy will prevent the United States from confirming the arithmetic. When asked if the withdrawal meant that the United States now maintains 6,000 warheads in Europe, a Defense Department spokesman answered, "No comment." WILLIAM M. ARKIN

William M. Arkin is a fellow with the Militarism and Disarmament Project of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.

Information Flow

Recently the United States has been very vocal about the importance of the free flow of information. We are critical of UNESCO's proposed New World Information Order; we castigate the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and East Germany for interfering with the circulation of Western periodicals in violation of the Helsinki accords. And we have even invoked our commitment to freedom of communication to "explain" our vote in the World Health Organization against an international code regulating the promotion of infant

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

formula in circumstances where its use contributes to disease and malnutrition.

It appears now, however, that we are concerned with the free flow of information only so long as the flow is one way. Americans are free to communicate with the world but must secure licenses from the government to bring information into the United States. That is the effect of the Customs Department's recent impounding of periodicals from Cuba under the authority of a 1963 Treasury Department regulation. Unenforced for more than a decade, the regulation requires Americans to obtain licenses if they wish to subscribe to Cuban periodicals.

Last year, the Carter Administration promulgated a similar regulation requiring recipients of publications from Iran to secure licenses [see "The License Pipe," *The Nation*, May 31, 1980]. The ostensible purpose was to deny funds to Iran. While cutting off funds was also the explanation for the 1963 regulation dealing with Cuba, it is preposterous today. Americans are now free to travel to Cuba, where they spend many times the paltry sums they pay for subscriptions. The money aside, Customs and Treasury officials should lend an ear to the rhetoric of their colleagues elsewhere in the government about the American commitment to the free flow of information.

Unjust Deserts

Abraham Minkus and Serril Gerber, tenured teachers in the Los Angeles school system, were subpoenaed to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) in its March 1953 heresy hunt in Hollywood. They both appeared; they both refused to answer questions concerning their past or present political affiliations—and they were both promptly fired. Now, nearly thirty years later, the Superior Court of Los Angeles County has ordered them, and four similarly situated co-petitioners, reinstated.

We are pleased that justice has finally been served—better late than never—and we are particularly gratified that *The Nation* made a contribution. According to their counsel, it was not until Abe Minkus read an article by Irving Adler and Benjamin Zelman ["New York's 'Subversive' Teachers," April 9, 1977] "that he realized he had some rights. . . . This motivated Mr. Minkus and his fellow petitioners to bring suit."

These six petitioners are the only surviving tenured teachers in Los Angeles who were victims of the last Red scare, and it would be nice to think of their recent vindication as lowering the curtain on that sad era. The county, however, recently moved to vacate the judgment. More generally, we are afraid that as the bad reviews of those episodes begin to fade, the actor in the White House and his supporting cast in the investigating committees, local vigilante squads and intelligence agencies may be trying to raise the curtain on a revival.

Notice to Our Readers

The Nation's summer schedule will be in effect during the month of August. Our next issue will be dated August 22-29.

Liberal Dupes

Ronald Reagan has demonstrated once again that the Democratic Party has lost control of the House of Representatives as well as the Senate. On July 29, forty-eight House Democrats joined 190 House Republicans to give President Reagan his 25 percent tax cut, a measure that is supposed to turn back some $150 billion to the taxpayers over a period of three years. Together with Reagan's draconian social welfare budget cuts, the passage of this tax cut, the largest in U.S. history, means that the pillars of the Administration's "supply-side" economic policies are now in place. These are policies that will inflict severe economic hardship on the American people, and they may even exacerbate inflation, unemployment and declining productivity, the problems they were intended to correct. They may also be expected to increase our dependency, particularly in the field of energy, on foreign supplies.

But Ronald Reagan's prescriptions are no surprise. The real surprise lies in how easily even the so-called liberal Democrats succumbed to his dubious assumptions. As Saul B. Shapiro's report on the Democratic Study Group (page 108) suggests, the "liberals" lack a coherent ideology or strategy. Worse, by proposing their own more "egalitarian" tax cut, they have implicitly endorsed Reagan's twin assumptions: first, that a decline in capital investments is at the root of America's loss of productivity; and second, that the solution must therefore lie in providing investment "incentives" (tax breaks and diminished governmental regulation) to private corporations.

The second assumption is dubious, and the first is plainly contradicted by the facts. For instance, Mobil, Seagram and Du Pont have all bid billions of dollars in their current efforts to take over the country's ninth-largest oil company, Conoco. The fact is that the country is awash in capital, but it is not always invested in new factories or other productive enterprises, as the rash of recent multibillion-dollar mergers shows.

Even quite conservative economists agree that less than 10 percent of the decline in America's productivity can be attributed to diminishing rates of investment. Yet the proposals of both Reagan and the liberals are aimed at raising investment rates. This is a central reason why supply-side economics, even taken on its own terms, makes little sense. Both Republicans and Democrats are only postponing the hard choices. Can our corporate economy be made to work without a real restructuring? What ought to be the role of public planning in economic decisions? Will the problems of productivity ever be solved without community control of local enterprises and factory democracy?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VARIATIONS.

CALVIN TRILLIN

My wife, Alice, was alarmed when she found me composing a note of apology to Hamilton Jordan.

"Is that the Hamilton Jordan you once said was the best proof yet of The Haldeman Rule that no nation has ever been successfully governed by advance men?" she asked.

"Yes, I'm beginning to think we were all a bit hard on him. I don't really mind a guy who throws a drink late in the evening now and then. It shows spirit."

Alice walked to the window and stared out at the garden. "You promised," she finally said. "You promised that this time would be different."

"I know," I said. "I tried."

"I kept telling myself I really hadn't heard you say 'Come back Bert Lance—all is forgiven' a few weeks ago," Alice said. "But you did say it, didn't you?"

I nodded. "I tried," I said. "God knows I tried."

Alice sighed. It was Alice who had persuaded me years ago to admit publicly that I had a problem—way back when Trisha and Julie Nixon made me wonder what I had found so dreadful about Lyndon Johnson's daughters. "It's a disease," Alice said then. "You have to face it: Sooner or later, every administration makes you nostalgic for the preceding one. Whatever you think of Haldeman and Erlichman, Jack Valenti is simply not going to come back to the White House, and you have to stop telling the children to ask for that in their bedtime prayers. Just a year ago, you pointed at a picture of Jack Valenti and said you had been too harsh on John Kennedy's hangers-on from Boston. You said he made you realize that the Irish usually make better sycophants than the Italians."

"Marvin Watson seemed like a nice fellow," I said vaguely.

"Until the Johnson Administration left office, you always called him Marv the Snake," Alice reminded me.

"You're right. Of course you're right," I said. "But this is going to be the last time. The Nixon Administration will cure me. There's no disease on earth that could make anyone yearn for John Mitchell."

I really thought I was going to make it. "Glad to see the back of him," I said, as we watched the coverage of Nixon's farewell walk to the helicopter. "You too, Pat. No more Chicken Divan recipes from Trisha. Goodbye forever to Julie and that wonky Eisenhower kid."

All through the Ford Administration, I seemed cured. I now realize that my symptoms were masked by the national relief over Nixon's departure. A few months after Jimmy Carter's inauguration, I looked up from the newspaper one evening and said, "I sort of miss old Bryce Harlow."

Alice treated the Bryce Harlow episode as the sort of isolated little spell that I could prevent from recurring by concentrating on the Gerald Ford Whip Inflation Now campaign whenever I felt one coming on. I tried. My willpower was simply no match for Billy Carter. Six months into the Carter Administration, during a lull in conversation at a large dinner party, I heard myself saying quite loudly, "One thing you have to say about Donald Nixon—in his own way, he had a lot of class."

"You need help," Alice said, as she drove us home. The Donald Nixon remark had broken the dam, and all I could do was slouch in the corner of the passenger's seat, talking about the Nixon Administration: "Sure Bebe Rebozo had his faults, but he did pull himself up by his bootstraps, after all. Member of the Hispanic minority, too. Which reminds me of the President's valet, Manuel. Good man, Manuel; loyalty's a trait seen too rarely these days. I liked the way Julie stood up for her dad at the end, by the way—right there in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, in front of the Jell-O mold and everything. You wouldn't find Julie appearing at shopping center openings, that's for sure. And say what you want about Trisha—you say plastic, O.K. plastic—but there was never any question of anything called Trishy Beer when Trisha was in the White House . . . "

As the Carters were about to leave Washington, I tried to signal Alice that I was confident of being able to withstand a new administration without looking back. In December, I returned from a trip to Savannah, where a little girl named Adelaide Scardino, age 3, had done a splendid imitation of Jimmy Carter for me. "No wonder this country's in the shape it's in," I said to Alice. "Since 1976, it's been in the hands of a man who can be imitated perfectly by a 3-year-old child." Alice said nothing.

A few weeks after Ronald Reagan's inauguration, I was becoming edgy. "Are you sure you don't need a picture?" Alice asked. During the first weeks of the Nixon Administration, she had suggested that I keep in sight a large photograph of Lyndon Johnson displaying his abdominal scar.

I shook my head.

"I have a great one of Billy and his pals at the gas station in Plains," she said.

"I can make it on my own," I said. But I couldn't. The Reagan Administration had been in office only six months when Alice caught me writing the note to Hamilton Jordan.

"I was ready for all those used car dealers from California, but I really hadn't counted on Jesse Helms," I explained.

Alice stood silently at the window—motionless except for a slight shudder at the mention of Jesse Helms.

"Also, I thought Mrs. Reagan would stop smiling after the inauguration. I thought she was smiling because she was the only one who knew the secret of how simple-minded her husband is. Mrs. Reagan has been a trial."

"At least Rosalynn didn't walk around draped in mink all the time," Alice said.

"Rosalynn?" I asked tentatively.

"Rosalynn Carter," Alice said. "Pretty tough American woman in her own way."

I smiled. "Remember Mamie Eisenhower, Alice?" I said. "I really kind of miss old Mamie."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

OFFSHORE OIL AND GAS

Watt Releases The Sea

FRED J. COOK

Secretary of the Interior James Watt has embarked on an offshore oil-gas-minerals leasing spree that, in the words of one critic, "will make Teapot Dome look like a church raffle." At the moment, there are few signs that he will be stopped, but two developments may slow him down: First, the scope of the proposed leasing is so extensive that even the major oil companies are protesting they cannot handle it; and second, there is a little-publicized suit before the Supreme Court that could limit some give-away aspects of the Secretary's program. The suit, which was upheld in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, was brought by a number of consumer groups against the Federal government. It argues that the government's leasing policies have given Big Oil almost exclusive rights to the treasures that lie under the sea.

Several issues of fundamental importance to the American people are involved in the matter of offshore leases. Watt's initial plan to offer 200 million acres of coastal waters each year for five years was so staggering that even major oil companies like mighty Exxon protested they had neither the facilities nor the manpower to cope with it. So on July 6, he amended the program—but only slightly; he now proposes to offer for lease only those tracts in which the oil companies express an interest. It is a change without much of a difference.

Unless stopped by the suit before the Supreme Court, Watt intends to continue to carry out a leasing system that favors the major oil companies. His plan calls for heavy, up-front cash bonuses, with a minimal subsequent royalty return—a system which prevents the smaller independents from bidding, since they cannot afford to put up hundreds of millions of dollars for a lease.

Consumer groups, headed by the Washington, D.C.-based Energy Action Educational Foundation and supported by the California State Lands Commission and the city of Long Beach, seemed to have won their fight against high bonuses when the Court of Appeals ordered Watt to try different leasing systems in order to bring the U.S. Treasury far more money than the present royalty system demands. But the Secretary's appeal to the Supreme Court stayed implementation of that decision and allowed him to proceed with the May 28 Sale 53, in which he auctioned eighty-one tracts off the Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo coastlines. The sale produced $2.36 billion in up-front money, almost all of it supplied by the major oil companies. A similar sale on July 21 of tracts in the Gulf of Mexico produced $2.7 billion in up-front money.

Watt's leasing spree comes at a time when there seems to be no pressing need for such action. There is now a world oil glut which, combined with continued conservation, has forced price cuts of a few cents a gallon. Given the absence of an emergency, environmental groups are incensed at the scope of Watt's program. The State of California brought legal action in an effort to halt implementation of the May sale on the northern tracts off the San Luis Obispo coast. In a decision on July 27, a Federal District Court judge upheld the state and blocked implementation of the leasing scheme. The Department of the Interior has indicated that it will appeal the decision.

A further objection to Watt's plan arises from the fact that the major oil companies have already gorged themselves on more leases than they can handle. They are holding vast offshore tracts, obtained during the more temperate leasing programs of the past, that they have not yet developed. The Secretary's colossal plan, which would dispose of almost all the acreage the United States has left to lease, could only result, therefore, in the major oil companies locking up more tracts and keeping them out of the hands of independents who might work them.

The Reagan Administration justifies Watt's program by claiming that it will spur development and "streamline" production. This superficially plausible argument turns out to be fallacious for the simple reason that the record amount of drilling for gas and oil in 1980 resulted in a shortage of drilling rigs and pipeline supplies. No more drilling would have been possible, no matter how large the "areas" made available were.

Edwin Rothschild, director of the Energy Action Educational Foundation, charges that the major oil companies are already sitting on holdings the size of Texas that are "not producing any oil or natural gas." He cites statistics showing that twenty of these companies increased their holdings of undeveloped oil and gas tracts by 43 percent between the end of 1976 and the end of 1980, retaining rights to more than 48 million acres, while they increased their developed acreage by a mere 2.5 percent, or just over 682,000 acres.

Rothschild concedes that it is only natural that these companies would drill first in those tracts their tests showed to be the best prospects; but still, considering that the other tracts they hold are assumed to be worth billions of dollars in up-front money, it would seem that they should have done better than they did in 1980, when they had only seventeen acres in production for every 100 acres out of production. "If the companies are not drilling and putting into production the lands they already have, it is not reasonable to expect that they can efficiently handle even more," Rothschild points out.

Fred J. Cook, a regular contributor to The Nation, *won the Newspaper Guild of New York 1980 "Page One" Award for Crusading Journalism for his series of articles on energy issues. Research support for this article was provided by the Fund for Investigative Journalism.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Even industry sources admit that Watt's leasing scheme is just too grandiose for their resources. They cite shortages of capital, drilling rigs and manpower and a lack of reliable data on which to base bidding in the immense areas the Secretary proposes to lease. "Drastic changes [in lease schedules] can upset capital, equipment and manpower planning efforts of many firms, including our own," E.F. Livaudais, Washington representative of the Atlantic Richfield Company, told *Business Week*. A spokesman for the Sohio Petroleum Company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Ohio, Alaska's No. 1 oil producer, acknowledged: "We may not have the manpower to cope." And another executive said: "Some of the 'production, production, production' talk is a little simplistic."

Cecil Andrus, President Carter's Secretary of the Interior, has also been critical of his successor's wholesale leasing program. He has pointed out that the government has already leased 500 tracts that the oil companies have not been able to explore. So why the hurry to lease 128 more tracts in the California basin? Why the rush to lease another 200 million acres a year?

Why, indeed, when all the evidence shows that the government—even when leasing tracts on the more modest scale of 1 million to 3 million acres at a time—has often had no idea of the value of the resources it has been putting on the auction block. General Accounting Office studies indicate that most of the tracts offered for bidding are those in which the major oil companies have expressed a particular interest, and the G.A.O. has repeatedly said that the U.S. Geological Survey has inadequate data to assess the worth of what the government is dispensing.

Under Watt's proposal to throw open more than a score of vast leasing areas ranging in size up to 160 million acres, the Geological Survey would be so overworked that it would be put in the position of playing blindman's buff. As the G.A.O. commented: "U.S.G.S. is limited in the amount of acreage it can evaluate prior to a lease sale."

The importance of accurate knowledge, possessed at times only by the major oil companies, was illustrated in the May 28 California sale. Chevron and the Phillips Petroleum Company put up a whopping $333.6 million to obtain rights to Tract 240 off the lower Santa Barbara coast. Larry Funkhouser, director and vice president for exploration and production for Chevron, predicted that several giant oil fields would be discovered in this area. (A giant field is defined as one with 100 million barrels or more of producible oil.) How could Funkhouser be so confident? Well, the Chevron-Phillips combine had secured rights to three other tracts in the area for a total of $116.4 million in Sale 48, held in July 1979. They had drilled three wells on these tracts during the winter and spring. These were so-called "tight holes," where what the companies found was to be kept secret. The tight hole evidence, however, was apparently so encouraging that Chevron-Phillips became convinced that they had established a trend leading to a basin with huge potential, a bit of knowledge that gave them an edge over all possible competitors.

Under the high up-front bonus system, as contrasted with a system that would provide high royalties, only the extremely wealthy and powerful possessors of such knowledge, whether gleaned from public or private sources, can afford to put up the hundreds of millions of dollars required for these leases. It is a system that is guaranteed to eliminate competition by independents. At stake, as Edwin Rothschild sees it, are the people's resources, valued at more than $7 trillion. He says: "Most Americans don't realize that they and their children own over 550 million acres of land which contain some of the most valuable deposits of oil, natural gas, coal, uranium, geothermal steam, oil shale, tar sands, copper, gold, silver, etc., in the entire United States." These treasures, Rothschild contends, are being literally given away, considering the enormousness of the return from the leases; and the vital resources of the nation and the wealth they produce are concentrated in ever fewer hands.

The villain in this, as Energy Action and its associates have contended in court, is the high up-front bonus system and the low 16⅔ percent royalty from producing fields. This arrangement, in effect, cheats the American people out of billions of dollars in royalty revenues. Rothschild and other critics argue that nowhere else in the world are oil companies allowed to get off so cheaply and to pocket the lion's share of the profits.

"I was talking recently to an official of Shell Oil who admitted," Rothschild says, "that Shell pays somewhere between 60 percent and 70 percent of gross revenues to foreign governments like Norway's and Great Britain's in the form of leases, royalties and taxes." By contrast, the United States is getting a mere 23 percent return on its leases, including up-front bonuses and royalties, although some individual states are doing far better on land they

DRAWINGS BY FRANCES JETTER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

control, where they can arrange their own leases.

In the last fifteen years, Texas has increased its royalty from 12.5 percent to 25 percent on top of the original lease bonus. California has long been receiving 48 percent of the revenues from oil and gas recovered from its leased land. Ironically, on May 14, just two weeks before Secretary Watt's offshore California sale, Alaska held a sale on oil and gas tracts in its Cook Inlet area. The up-front bonus money was only $4.3 million, but U.S. oil companies buying the leases agreed to pay royalties ranging as high as 64 percent. About the same time as this Alaska sale, Watt met with a number of land commissioners from Western states who told him bluntly, according to *The Washington Post*, "that current federal policy amounts to giving away public resources at bargain-basement prices."

It was this very situation that induced Congress in 1978 to amend extensively the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act of 1953 to give the Secretary of the Interior five years in which to test a combination of bonus and royalty programs to determine what would result in the greatest yields to the U.S. Treasury. The revised act did not leave the testing of such alternate programs to the discretion of the Secretary; he was mandated to test them.

The Carter Administration ignored the mandate. So has Secretary Watt. His California sale and the Gulf of Mexico sale in late July continued the high up-front bonus system. In the action now before the Supreme Court, Energy Action and its associates argue that, despite the lapse of three years, literally nothing has been done to change the old system. The suit contends that the secretaries of Energy and Interior (Energy was to draft the alternatives; Interior was to implement them) have violated the clear intention of Congress, which *ordered* them to try higher royalty bidding methods. The Court of Appeals agreed with their contention, writing:

> Most important, by mid-1981 failure to issue regulations on variable net profit share bidding and work commitment bidding creates a clear violation of the statutory mandate to experiment with alternatives to front end cash bonus systems and accordingly a clear case of irreparable harm to appellants, and the public and private interests they represent. . . . Further delay in issuing these regulations would mean that experimentation with these options would occur, if at all, in the last year or two of the five-year period, upon whatever tracts remain for exploration. . . . In sum if there is to be sufficient experimentation with the range of non-cash options specified in the Act, the remaining regulations for those options should be in place in 1981, before the next battery of planned lease sales which begin in May, 1981.

In remanding the case to the U.S. District Court, the Appeals Court issued a clear mandate that action be taken at once and even suggested that an injunction might be in order to prevent further sales until "a price timetable" had been set up for implementing higher royalties. Secretary Watt chose not to obey this order but to appeal to the Supreme Court, which, in early June, granted *certiorari*.

Once he had obtained this review, Watt argued that he had the right "to conduct lease sales without resort to bidding systems. . . ." This means that, until the Supreme Court issues its final decision months in the future, the Secretary can continue doing just what he has done in the past. □

We'd like to extend our welcome to the following bookstores, which have recently begun to carry *The Nation*.

Modern Times, *Honolulu*
Trover, *Washington, D.C.*
Grass Roots Events, *San Diego*
Scoham Bookshelf, *Boston*
Newark Community Co-op, *Newark, Delaware*
Dirt Cheap Enterprises, *Lincoln, Nebraska*
Wauwatosa Periodicals, *Milwaukee*
Don Olsen's, *Minneapolis*
Papa Bach's Paperbacks, *West Los Angeles*
Freddie's Feed & Read, *Missoula, Montana*
Poor Richards, *Colorado Springs*
Zugitan's, *Geneva, Switzerland*

STRAIGHT TALK ON CUBA

More Pluralist Than Thou

MICHAEL MANLEY

As one who has held government office, I have a cautious view about the leaking of documents, but there are cases in which the moral issue involved overrides all other considerations. The recent revelation in *The New York Times* of the position papers prepared by Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, for the visit to Washington, D.C., of South Africa's Foreign Minister, Roelof Botha, is a case in point.

The Crocker papers advocate linking Namibia's independence to the (presumably prior) withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The proposal is a colossal piece of international effrontery. First, the right of the Namibian people to their freedom cannot be conditional upon any external circumstance. It is inalienable and complete in itself. Second, the Cuban troops are in Angola at the express invitation of Angola's sovereign government. Third, both the Angolan and Cuban governments have said that the troops would leave Angola as soon as South Africa's forces are withdrawn from the southern border of Angola and Namibia is granted its independence. Fourth, the Cuban troops are there only because South Africa sent its army into Angola in 1975 to try to topple the legitimate government of a newly

Michael Manley, the former Prime Minister of Jamaica, is presently the leader of the opposition People's National Party.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

independent state after it became clear that other methods had failed. The Central Intelligence Agency and the South African government had previously poured money and arms into the insurrection being waged by Jonas Savimbi in the name of his tribally based party, Unita. I will make no comment on a black African leader who would accept money and arms from South Africa. I leave him to the judgment of his peers. What mattered was that the South African government was so anxious to install a puppet regime in Angola that it had the audacity to invade the country.

It is now history how Agostinho Neto, the late President of Angola, sent his urgent call to President Fidel Castro for military help; how Castro and his advisers debated the matter for twelve hours before arriving at perhaps their most difficult decision; how they sacrificed their hopes for diplomatic peace with the United States even though talks to this end had begun; how they flew in crack units of the Cuban Army to Angola, and how the South Africans beat a hasty retreat, withdrawing behind the Namibian border when they realized that they had the Cuban Army to contend with.

There are many of us in the Third World who feel that Cuba's decision to send troops and its subsequent role in protecting newly independent Angola from South Africa's desire to defend apartheid at any cost represent a turning point. Historical turning points give rise to myths, and myths are an unsound basis for the understanding of world politics and the development of foreign policy. For example, it is a myth that Cuba sent troops to Angola because Moscow ordered it. All the available evidence suggests that Moscow attached overriding importance at that time to détente and the SALT negotiations and was completely taken by surprise by the Cuban decision. It is unlikely that Moscow would have risked U.S. anger over Angola. The Soviet Union's subsequent decision to support Cuba in its self-assigned role is a completely different matter. Common sense, and my own extensive conversations with Castro on the subject, satisfy me that the Soviet Union did not order Cuba into Angola.

It is also a myth that Cuba spends its time plotting revolution throughout Latin America. Although undoubtedly loyal to their allies in the Socialist bloc, the Cubans take a very sophisticated view of both world politics and the objective conditions that make revolutions possible. In any case, the Cubans do not believe that one can plot a revolution. They would regard that as an exercise for children. They believe that revolutions arise when a set of conditions, including gross oppression on the one hand and a combination of forces capable of resistance on the other, exist at the same time in the same place.

I cannot speak of the early Guevarist period. I speak of the Cuba of at least the last dozen years. The Cubans, as Marxist/Leninists, believe in the ultimate triumph of socialism because of their view of the contradictions inherent in capitalism. Hence, they do not feel that anybody needs to be in a hurry. More important, they accept a pluralistic view of the world as a place in which a variety of social and economic experiments may evolve to express different political cultures, social traditions, types of leadership and economic conditions.

Moreover, Castro is, myths aside, a man of extraordinary political sophistication, and being such, he is comfortable with pluralism. However, he and his government do not believe in a passive foreign policy. Fervently anti-imperialist, they work for the widest possible alliance of "progressive" forces. Their definition of progressive is logical and easily understood. To them, such a government works for changes in the world economic system that are aimed at a more equitable exchange between developed and developing countries; supports the right of small countries to the enjoyment of their sovereignty; takes a strong position against South Africa and apartheid and in favor of genuine liberation struggles; works for greater economic and social justice for its people, and provides avenues of democratic expression for them. All these weigh heavily in Cuba's assessment of other countries. And most important, because Cuba is a small country, the Cubans are insistent on the principle of noninterference in the affairs of others. Local Communist groups operating in progressive countries are not, in fact, encouraged by the Cubans to stir up trouble. I say this out of nine years of experience running a traditional, Western-style, two-party democracy with a powerful private sector which nobody was trying to eliminate. I also say this on the basis of conversations I have had with other heads of government in the Caribbean region.

However, the Cubans draw the line somewhere. If Angola makes an appeal to them in a case in which democratic and progressive legitimacy is threatened by fascism, the Cubans will respond if it is within their means to do so. On the other hand, it is not true that the Cubans set out to persuade the Nicaraguan or Salvadoran people to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fight for their own freedom. Support and paternity are not the same thing.

It is of particular interest that Castro, along with Willy Brandt of the Socialist International, has worked for months toward a political settlement of the Salvadoran problem. Castro publicly supports either the broadening of the government to include the Revolutionary Democratic Front or the holding of elections. I know, because I was involved in some of the negotiations at various times last year.

The tragedy of today's situation is that the Reagan Administration is busily reviving all the old myths upon which U.S. foreign policy was based in the 1950s. Vicious murderers like Gen. Romeo Lucas García of Guatemala and supporters of apartheid become "Good Guys." "Bad Guys" are defined as those who are fed up with oppression and determined to do something about it. What is forgotten in this simplistic and self-deluding formulation is the history of all the revolutions of modern times. Every new, progressive African state has proved to be firmly nonaligned and not about to become anyone's cat's-paw. So, too, with Cuba. Circumstances demand their own accommodations. But Cuba seems more interested in proving the worth of its revolution by sending doctors and teachers and engineers to help progressive Third World countries fight poverty and underdevelopment than in playing games with the fate of other societies.

The theory which sees Soviet and now Cuban expansionism at the root of popular revolutionary activity misconceives the nature of popular revolutions, underrates the quality of patriotism that inspires recently liberated peoples and misunderstands a new kind of internationalism among Third World countries in which cooperation is seen as the answer to big-power domination and local tyranny alike. Add to this Cuba's deep sense of ethnic connection to Africa and you will understand the decision to send troops to Angola—and to Ethiopia.

A policy that flows from an analysis based upon myths is likely to be crazy. Action that flows from such an analysis is bound to be dangerous. □

EL SALVADOR:
The Roots of Intervention

A special collection of *Nation* articles, including James Petras on the White Paper, is now available at bulk rates.

____ 10 copies $8 ____ 100 copies $50
____ 50 copies $30 ____ 1,000 copies $300

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please make checks or money orders payable to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

PICKING UP THE PIECES

Whatever Became Of the D.S.G.?

SAUL B. SHAPIRO

Commenting on the disastrous Democratic showing in the June 21 vote on President Ronald Reagan's budget cuts, veteran liberal Congressman Robert Kastenmeier said, "We are going back to that Dixiecrat-Republican situation we had years ago." Now, as in the late 1950s, a Republican President, with the aid of conservative Southern Democrats, seems able to impose his legislative will on Congress.

Since the Eisenhower years were followed by almost two decades in which liberals wielded considerable legislative power, it is not surprising that some of them are now talking about breathing new life into the Democratic Study Group (D.S.G.), which has often been credited with preparing the way for the liberal victories of the 1960s and 1970s.

The D.S.G. evolved out of an informal coalition of liberals in the House of Representatives originally led by Eugene McCarthy. By the time the eighty founding members were formally organized, McCarthy had moved on to the Senate and the group was left in the hands of Lee Metcalf and Chet Hollifield. It lobbied effectively for liberal legislation and, a major reform at the time, set up a whip system to make sure that its members were present for important votes. Because it remained in touch with Democratic Party leadership, the group was able to influence committee assignments and vote scheduling. The D.S.G. also became expert on matters of parliamentary procedure, something about which liberals had been notoriously ignorant. The group fostered a sense of legislative pragmatism among its members and, in its most important effort, reformed House rules that had enabled conservative committee chairmen to stall progressive legislation within their committees.

For all that, the founders of the D.S.G. were not radicals. They even made a conscious effort to keep words like *liberal* and *active* out of the group's name, and they were careful to appease an anxious but quiescent Democratic leadership. When the group drew up its first position papers in 1960, they differed little from a Democratic platform that was uncharacteristically progressive but still safe enough to win mainstream support.

Thus today's talk of revitalizing the D.S.G. is doubly revealing of the sad state in which liberals find themselves: They are eager to "revive" something that never really became the activist group its founders intended; and they are looking for direction from an organization that has no visible program and no ideology.

When Kennedy and Johnson were in the White House,

Saul B. Shapiro is The Nation's *Washington, D.C., intern.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liberals used the D.S.G. as a hangout, where they dreamed up and advocated new ideas, and it became a powerful force in the House. By the end of the Johnson Administration, however, the Democratic Caucus had admitted the liberals to its policy-making deliberations and the D.S.G. had changed its emphasis.

In 1968, when the current executive director, Richard Conlon (a journalist from Minnesota), took his job, he decided that the D.S.G. could best serve its members by providing extensive research on the increasingly voluminous and complex legislation being introduced. The group ceased to be a rallying point for liberal ideas and became the most reliable source of information in the House. The D.S.G. now compiles a daily report on the schedule in the House, a weekly legislative report that summarizes bills slated for House action, periodic fact sheets that analyze important legislative proposals and occasional special reports devoted to major political issues. Nearly all Democratic members of Congress, regardless of their ideological orientation, are subscribers. Until Reagan's election, despite some grumbling about a loss of activism, D.S.G. members were generally pleased with the group as it rode the coattails of a Democratic Congress and basked in the glory of majority victories. The Dixiecrat-Republican triumph changed all that.

The division among liberals as to what to do about the D.S.G. pretty well illustrates their disagreement about what to do about liberal politics in general. As William Brodhead of Michigan, the chairman of the group, explains the dilemma: "There is a great difference among liberals as to whether we ought to try to confront the Reagan Administration—that is, throw up alternatives, knowing that these alternatives can't possibly carry—or whether we should go along with the process and salvage what we can. I think liberals aren't sure which way they are going to go."

It is among those who want to articulate a new liberal program without regard for immediate political success that there has been a strong movement to revitalize the D.S.G. Richard Ottinger of New York, who maintains that "as a vehicle for producing change, the D.S.G. is moribund," was among fifty liberals who decided in informal meetings this January to appoint several task forces to investigate the possibility. Ottinger's colleague from New York, Theodore Weiss, who participated in those meetings and shares Ottinger's criticisms of the group, warns that the establishment of a more activist D.S.G. "would require risking the loss of a large portion of its membership." Still, Weiss feels that such a confrontation is essential if the organization is to serve as a rallying point for House liberals.

Ottinger and Weiss are up against a legacy of failed attempts to revitalize the D.S.G. Ottinger himself ran unsuccessfully for the chairmanship of the group in 1978, pledging to make it more activist. "The establishment engulfed me," he said. His opponent was David Obey of Wisconsin. Obey, described approvingly by one colleague as "not a confrontationist," emerged victorious on the basis of support from Jim Wright and others in the Democratic leadership who did not relish the idea of a more activist D.S.G.

Former Congressman Bob Eckhardt of Texas, who was chairman in the mid-1970s, doesn't feel that Ottinger could have done much to change the group in any case, citing executive director Conlon's resistance to change. Conlon argues that the D.S.G. could never have much of an impact as an advocacy group because it has no constituency: "We have no standing. We're not an outside interest group. The Black Caucus represents black Americans. There is no such thing as a D.S.G.-American."

But there are liberal Americans. Don't they make a constituency? "We could put out a liberal position on everything, but we wouldn't move anyone," Conlon says. He does not think that legislators are swayed by the opinions of their peers.

In the aftermath of the budget vote, when Kastenmeier was likening 1981 to the 1950s, Brodhead vowed to use the D.S.G. to punish Democratic traitors. He has set up a task force, which will make recommendations to the Democratic Caucus about what should be done. Whatever comes of it, it is at least a hint of renewed activism. It would, however, be foolish to expect a dramatic reversal; the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Love, Hate & Mother Jones

"Sleazy"
– A senior Reagan appointee to the CIA

A "rallying cry ... above the mellowspeak"
– *Time* Magazine

Publisher of "lies, half-truths and distortions"
– A top Ford Motor executive, after our award-winning story that forced the recall of two million Pintos

"Inviting graphics, wry humor and colorful writing"
– *Los Angeles Times*

"Tasteless"
– *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*

"Outstanding Achievement for Public Service"
– Columbia University School of Journalism National Magazine Award

Find out why some love us while others hate us. Then decide for yourself.

It costs you nothing to try **Mother Jones.** Just return the coupon today and we'll send you your first issue **free.**

FREE ISSUE!

Send me a free copy of **Mother Jones.** If I like the magazine I will pay you $12 (a 33% savings off the regular price) for a full year—nine more issues. If I decide not to subscribe for any reason, I'll just mark "cancel" on the bill and that's it—no further obligation.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ *State* _____ *Zip* _____

Add $3 per year, Canada; $4 per year foreign.

DGRLPF

MOTHER JONES,
Subscription Department,
1886 Haymarket Square,
Marion, OH 43305

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

obstacles to change are too numerous and too intractable. Beyond the history of failed attempts to reform the group, and beyond Conlon's pragmatic style, there is the simple fact that even many of those members of Congress one might think of as activists are opposed to the idea of a more activist D.S.G., and more than half are probably in love with the identity it has assumed. Donald Edwards of California, for example, a former chairman of Americans for Democratic Action who has a very liberal voting record, feels that the D.S.G. is so sacrosanct that he scurries away to escape any inquiries about the organization's shortcomings, explaining, "I'm not going to criticize the D.S.G.—they're all friends of mine. We have our own groups for advocacy now: the A.D.A., the A.C.L.U. and so forth." □

Baghdad

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

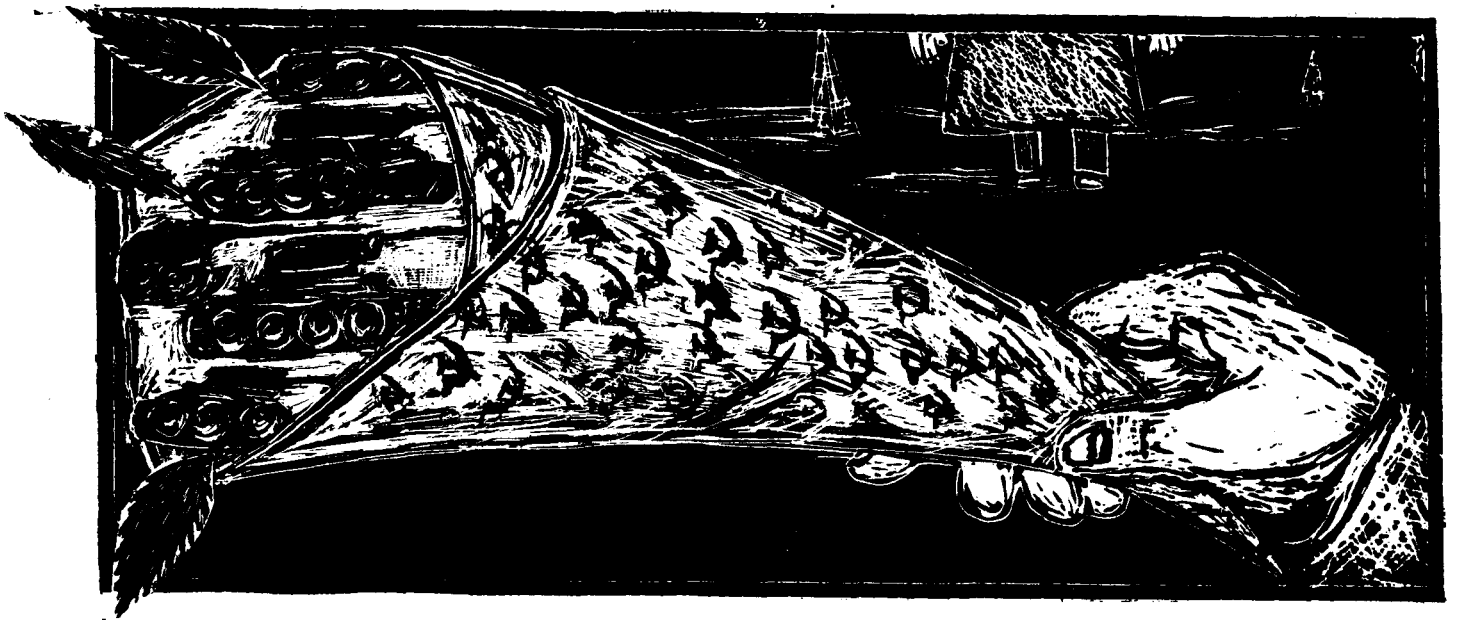
relationship with Teheran. Moscow has not criticized Iran's internal affairs and has welcomed the fall of President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, who was seen as too pro-Western. Reports of the murders of left-wingers, women and members of minority religious sects such as the Bahai have been kept from the readers of *Pravda*, where the stress has been laid on the "anti-imperialist" nature of the Teheran regime. Soviet Islamic officials recently played host to Ayatollah Khalkhali, the "hanging judge" of the Iranian revolution, who was saluted in the Soviet press as "an important religious dignitary."

The pro-Soviet Tudeh, or Masses Party, continues to support the Khomeini regime, even though its paper, *Mardom*, has been banned. The Tudeh's position is that in the long run the Islamic government will have to follow a path of "non-capitalist development" similar to that pursued in Algeria, Tanzania, Burma and Nicaragua, and that this will necessitate good relations with the Soviet Union. Because the Islamic forces have challenged the left's previous monopoly on radicalism, the Tudeh knows very well that its political position has been weakened.

Yet these long-run calculations on the part of the Russians have not borne the fruit that was expected. Moscow has gained the advantage in other Third World conflicts when, under threat of attack, nationalist regimes have turned to it for help. Nasser's Egypt in the 1950s and the Ethiopians in 1977 are cases in point. The disunity of the Teheran government, its ability to buy arms on the European market (Spain and the Netherlands are the main conduits) and its resilient Islamic anti-Communism have all precluded a clear-cut alliance with the Soviet Union. Even so, Russia may judge that Iran's relations with the West are so bad that there is little risk of antagonizing the Iranians by resuming arms shipments to Iraq.

The second factor in changing Soviet policy is the West's assiduous courtship of Iraq. Western allies such as Saudi Arabia and Jordan have been helping Iraq: The Saudis have given approximately $15 billion in aid so far, a sum nearly equal to Iraq's annual oil income. The United States has no diplomatic relations with Baghdad, but the U.S. interests office there is headed by William Eagleton, described by one Middle East veteran as "the best Arabist in the State Department." The way in which Iraqi Foreign Minister Saadun Hammadi reached agreement with the U.S. delegation at the United Nations in the protest over Israel's attack on the Baghdad reactor shows how far an understanding between the two countries has progressed. Indeed, the wooing of Iraq has become a major priority of U.S. Middle East policy, and this has alarmed the Russians, who have invested a good deal of political capital in their relationship with the thorny Baathist regime in Baghdad.

Fred Halliday is a fellow of the Transnational Institute, Amsterdam, and an editorial associate of New Left Review *and* MERIP Reports. *He is the author of* Arabia Without Sultans: A Political Survey of Instability in the Arab World *(Vintage Books) and* Iran: Dictatorship and Development *(Penguin). He is a regular contributor to* The Nation.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The third reason for Russian alarm is the fact that the Iranian revolution and the Iran-Iraq war have given the United States the opportunity to re-establish its position in the Persian Gulf region. The Saudi leadership's fears of Iranian intervention have been such that they have allowed U.S. personnel to run four aerial reconnaissance planes, or Awacs, from Saudi territory; they have also allowed a much wider buildup of U.S. forces and bases in the area. In other words, the fall of the Shah has removed a U.S. ally, but has opened the door to a more direct U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf region. To allow Iraq to move into the Western camp is not something the Russians are prepared to accept without a fight.

An additional factor influencing Soviet calculations may be the Iran-Iraq war itself. The Iraqis have shown no inclination to push deeper into Iran; they are sustaining, by their own count, fatalities of between twenty and thirty a day. This adds up to 10,000 dead per year in a country of 14 million people. The Iraqis want the war to be over before they assume leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement next March, and they hope that a credible dictatorship can emerge in Iran, capable of reaching some face-saving solution. The Iraqis cannot risk the casualties involved in major new offensives, and the Russians know that the arms they may send will not therefore be seen as shifting the balance too much.

It is impossible to evaluate the political costs of this conflict to either country. Iran has suffered more in social and economic terms—up to 2 million Iranians have fled their homes. But both countries still export some oil and both can crush any popular resistance that might emerge. Life in the principal cities has not been greatly disrupted. In Iran, the ruling Islamic Republican Party seems for the moment to have consolidated its hold with the fall of Bani-Sadr from office. Executions and terror make up for what popular backing cannot provide. The Iranian regime is perhaps more secure than that in Iraq, where the war has provoked widespread, if muted, opposition. The most likely change there is that one party or conspiratorial group in the armed forces may remove the man held responsible for the disaster, Saddam Hussein. As one Arab diplomat put it to me recently: "It's a one-bullet regime in Baghdad." Whether Soviet support will save Saddam Hussein is something that both Russian and Western diplomats, competing for the friendship of the regime, must now be asking themselves. □

AN EXCHANGE.

Timerman and the Jews

New York City

Aryeh Neier's recent article on Argentine Jews ["The Crime of Silence Revisited," *The Nation*, June 13], though well intentioned, is full of inaccuracies. Since these inaccuracies involve me personally, I am more than a little put out. I am angriest, however, for his having created the impression in his article that I have something in common with the conservatives who are engaged in an ugly campaign to discredit Jacobo Timerman. Nothing could be further from the truth.

In testimony I submitted before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in opposition to the nomination of Ernest Lefever to be Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, I specifically took issue with Lefever's (and the Administration's) unwillingness to attack human-rights violations in authoritarian states. In a public debate with Carl Gershman before the governing council of the American Jewish Congress, I described the distinction between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes as morally obscene. I asked Gershman if he thought the relatives of those who have disappeared or have been tortured in Argentine jails would find solace in the knowledge that they have been brutalized by an authoritarian rather than a totalitarian regime.

It is true that Neier may not have known where I stand on this issue, but I am totally at a loss to understand what led him to distort statements of mine that he *was* familiar with. Let me begin with the most egregious—though by no means the only—example, his comparison of my alleged statement "that Anthony Lewis's articles have 'further compromised the already precarious condition of Argentina's Jews'" with Joseph Goebbels's (!) public warning to the Jews of the world that their concern with the plight of German Jews would only aggravate their problem.

The comparison to Goebbels is so odious as to boggle the mind. But the comparison aside, the statement contains falsehoods that need to be corrected. First, by writing that I had said that Anthony Lewis's "articles" had further endangered the Argentine Jewish community, Neier implies:

(*1*) that it is my position that criticizing Argentine anti-Semitism endangers the Argentine Jewish community, and

(*2*) that I criticized both of Anthony Lewis's articles (not only his column on the Op-Ed page of *The New York Times* but also his deeply moving review of Timerman's book). That, of course, would reinforce the notion that I advocate a muting of charges of anti-Semitism against the junta and would like to discredit Timerman.

In fact, I never criticized Lewis for his "articles." I never said anything at all about his first article, the review of Timerman's book, which I thought was a beautiful and deeply moving essay. And in my criticism of his second article, I did not for a moment suggest that there is no anti-Semitism in Argentina, or that this anti-Semitism ought not to be vigorously condemned. My quarrel with Lewis was over a specific and limited point. By comparing the Argentine situation to that of the Nazis, Lewis suggested in his column that what motivates the Argentine junta is an anti-Semitic program to liquidate the Argentine Jewish community. I consider that analysis to be false. The Nazis were indeed motivated by a hatred of Jews and a desire to exterminate the Jews in Germany and in the rest of Europe. That is not the case with the Argentine junta. Jacobo Timerman has himself stated repeatedly that he was not arrested because he was a Jew but because of his opposition to the regime.

It is with respect to this false analysis, and not in relation to the larger problems of Argentine anti-Semitism, that I observed that misrepresentation, no matter how noble the intention, can only further jeopardize the already precarious situation of Argentine Jews.

In his concluding paragraph, Neier writes that those (i.e., Henry Siegman and others) who express the fear that those who charge the Argentine junta with anti-Semitism "do a grave disservice to Argentine Jews" or endanger "the already precarious condition of Argentine Jews" in fact betray the truth of those charges—the inference being, of course, that I deny the truth of the charges. What Neier does not tell his readers is that not only do I not deny the truth of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

charges but in that very same letter to which he refers I specifically *make* those charges. I stated in that letter that "it is abundantly clear that the anti-Semitism of Argentina's rightists is singularly ugly and malevolent."

I have no reason to believe that Neier deliberately set out to distort and falsify what I said. He is too honorable a person to be suspected of that. How then to explain so reckless a piece of journalism?

I suppose it is really for Aryeh Neier and for *The Nation* to come up with an answer to that question. I suspect, however, that part of the answer is that this recklessness is induced by a mindless anti-establishmentarianism that is ready to believe the worst about the leaders of Jewish organizations—even to the point of drawing analogies between statements by Jewish leaders and Goebbels. The irony is that many of those on the left who are now so distressed by the alleged failure of Jewish organizations to combat anti-Semitism have themselves previously displayed scant interest in this issue, and have often been critical of Jewish organizations for exaggerating the dangers of anti-Semitism. In a way, it is the mirror image of the disservice to reasoned discussion done by the strident criticism of Jacobo Timerman that comes from the right.

Henry Siegman
Executive Director
American Jewish Congress

Brookline, Mass.

Since I belong neither to any neoconservative cabal nor to the nonexisting Israeli one aimed at discrediting Jacobo Timerman, I intended to follow up on my article "Don't Rescue Latin American Jews" (*Midstream*, December 1980) with only a book review for the same magazine, scheduled to appear in its August-September issue. Nevertheless I received the invitation to comment on Aryeh Neier's piece on Argentina, in which he quotes me, and as a former newspaperman I dread the answer "No comment." So here go my comments in the space I was allotted. Those who are interested in my views can find a much deeper exploration of the puzzling Timerman phenomenon in the above-mentioned book review.

First, a few corrections:

(*1*) A telephone call to Israel's U.N. delegation would disabuse Neier of the notion that Argentina "generally supports Israel" at the United Nations.

(*2*) I did not try to *rebut* charges about anti-Semitism in the Timerman affair. I only stated that anti-Semitism did not *cause* Timerman's arrest.

(*3*) I reported that the interventions on Timerman's behalf by the White House and the Pope increased his captors' fury. At no moment did I say they should not have been made.

(*4*) Neier misses the point when he says my article implies that Timerman's arrest was caused by the fact "that an investor in his newspaper named David Graiver was an international swindler." What I wrote was that the allegation that Graiver was the investment broker of the *montoneros* (guerrillas) caused the arrest of Graiver's partner in the ownership of *La Opinion*—Jacobo Timerman.

Neier quotes, I suppose disapprovingly, my statement that "Timerman [was not] another Shcharansky," etc. May I elaborate: My article, based on a visit to Argentina in the summer of 1979, reflected the views of Argentina's Jews. Timerman has decreed that they are all cowards and fools, which is as improbable as the anti-Semitic prejudice that all Jews are cowards and smart. None of them doubt that Timerman was arrested because of the "Graiver affair." Strangely enough, to report on this obvious and undeniable link is considered hostile, if not defamatory, by the Timerman camp. Sensitive to the implications, Jacobo Timerman, who does not mention his friend and partner David Graiver in his book, now defends him as another "Captain Dreyfus." At the same time, in an obvious communication gap, Timerman's friend Rabbi M. Rosenthal calls Graiver "a crook." I am inclined to side with the rabbi: Captain Dreyfus didn't milk any New York banks out of $40 million.

The importance of the Timerman-Graiver link is unrelated to almost all the points that were made. It's irrelevant whether Graiver was a Dreyfus or a crook; whether he was indeed the investment broker of the *montoneros*; whether the authorities managed to prove the connection between Graiver, who is dead, and the *montoneros*, who are dead, in exile or hiding; whether Timerman knew about the Graiver-*montoneros* business if it existed. What matters is that Graiver was undeniably Timerman's business partner and that Timerman's partnership with Graiver, who was, rightly or wrongly, suspected of a connection with the *montoneros*, caused Timerman's ordeal. What also matters is that all this was common knowledge in Argentina, and that Timerman does not mention it. Even Robert Cox, expatriate editor of the *Buenos Aires Herald*, a supporter of Timerman, writes in *The New York Times*, "I too was astonished that in his book Jacobo Timerman made no mention of David Graiver, who was his friend and financial backer. . . ." There is only one logical explanation why Timerman obliterated Graiver: to mention Graiver, etc., would spoil the current pretense that "Timerman was jailed for investigating the 'disappearance' of Argentinians." It would reduce Timerman from hero to fall guy. It would give support to what was all along the opinion among Buenos Aires's Jews that Timerman was arrested neither because he was a Jew nor because of some daring editorials but as a hapless entrepreneur.

Which coincides with a remark made by Cox to *The Boston Globe*: "Only a few months before [Timerman] was arrested, he was supporting the government totally. He condemned the anti-Argentina campaign abroad, and at one point even offered to go to the United States to condemn it."

This explains my statement, which Neier quotes, that "Jacobo Timerman is no Shcharansky, no 'prisoner of conscience,' nor a refusenik, dissenter or even a martyr for the cause of a free press." Unlike all those others, he was not arrested for anything he did. He was arrested for something he did not do.

Once caught in the web of Argentina's clandestine torture chambers, Timerman suffered and his Jewishness served as an aphrodisiac to the beasts who had him at their mercy. His innocence and suffering warrant our sympathy. His calling prominent leaders of the democratic world "fascist" and claiming, as he did in an interview with the *Boston Globe*, that Jeane Kirkpatrick uses semantics "the way Hitler used semantics," deserve rejection. Precisely because he is no Shcharansky, etc.

The deliberate neglect of the Graiver link has another unfortunate consequence: it may reflect on the accuracy of Timerman's narrative and invalidate some of his conclusions. I don't think Timerman is above tailoring a book to the prospects of a best seller. It may be worthwhile asking him why a collaboration with a second author on a second book came to naught. Or the second author may be asked. His name is Elie Wiesel.

I have nearly used up the 1,000 words I was granted. Are Argentine Jews facing a holocaust? They don't believe so; neither do I. But if Jacobo Timerman believes it, we may be allowed to ask: Since it is now eighteen months after he recovered his freedom, and escaping an impending holocaust is a rather urgent business, why did he wait so long before sounding the alarm? Did it have to wait until his book appeared?

Benno Weiser Varon

NEIER REPLIES

New York City

I reply at length to Henry Siegman's letter because I think he raises some important questions that deserve further discussion. My comments follow the order in which issues are raised in his letter.

Siegman says that what angers him most is that I have created the impression that he has "something in common with conservatives who are engaged in an ugly campaign to discredit Jacobo Timerman." I agree with Siegman about the nature of the campaign against Timerman and regret that what I wrote might seem to associate him with that campaign. That was not my intention. The campaign to which Siegman refers was not yet visible when I wrote my article and submitted it to *The Nation*. About ten days

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

elapsed between the time I delivered my article to *The Nation* and the time it appeared in print. It was during that interval that Irving Kristol's diatribe against Timerman was published by *The Wall Street Journal* and the first of William Buckley's syndicated columns attacking Timerman was published. Had those attacks on Timerman appeared in time for me to comment on them in my *Nation* article, Siegman may be assured that I would have done so. Kristol and Buckley have exploited for their own purposes the efforts by some Jewish organizations to distance themselves from Timerman and I hope that Siegman is also protesting the way they have gone about this.

I should note that in my article I introduced the subject of Siegman's views on Timerman and on Anthony Lewis by making it plain that I do not associate him with those who might be expected to attack Timerman. The two sentences in my article that immediately precede my first use of Siegman's name read as follows: "It is not only the Argentine government and its American apologists who are critical. Leading American Jewish organizations are also angry with Timerman and Lewis." I regard Kristol and Buckley as apologists for the Argentine government but, as I think the way I introduced the reference to Siegman makes clear, I do not place him in that category.

I was aware of Siegman's testimony against confirmation of Ernest Lefever. While I am pleased with the stand he took, I wish it had been taken more firmly. The American Jewish Congress (A.J.C.) had asked for and had been given the opportunity to testify orally at the confirmation hearings. At the last moment, the request to testify orally was withdrawn, ostensibly on the ground that the officer of the A.J.C. who had been scheduled to testify could not appear. When I called a member of the A.J.C. staff to urge that someone else be found to deliver oral testimony, I was informed that the decision to limit the testimony to a written submission was well considered and deliberate. It was also less visible, less provocative and less effective.

Siegman says I distorted statements by him with which I was familiar and, in the next sentence, uses the word "alleged" to describe a statement I attributed to him to the effect that Anthony Lewis's articles have "further compromised the already precarious condition of Argentina's Jews." I am at a loss to understand how Siegman thinks I distorted his views and I am astonished at his use of the word "alleged." So that readers may determine for themselves whether I have distorted Siegman's views and whether that word "alleged" is warranted, I reproduce below the complete text of the press release of May 19, 1981, from which I quoted. The sentence to which Siegman refers, and which I quoted once in full and once in the abbreviated version quoted in Siegman's letter, appears in italics:

Henry Siegman,
AJCongress Executive Director,
Accuses N.Y. Times Columnist of
Endangering Argentina's Jews

In sharp response to charges by New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis that American Jewish leaders failed to condemn Argentinian anti-Semitism, Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, accused Mr. Lewis of endangering Argentina's Jews.

Mr. Siegman noted that while the anti-Semitism of Argentinian rightists is "singularly ugly and malevolent, the reign of terror unleashed by the Argentinian junta is not aimed specifically at Argentinian Jews, although they are among its victims."

Jacobo Timerman, the exiled Argentinian editor about whom Mr. Lewis wrote in his column, "was a threat to the junta not because of his Jewishness—he was not an active member of the Jewish community—but because of his personal commitment to truth, freedom and human rights," Mr. Siegman said.

"Given the anti-Semitic proclivities of totalitarian regimes, and particularly of the Argentinian junta, there is something especially reckless" about the statements made by Mr. Lewis in his column in the Times on Sunday, May 17, Mr. Siegman charged in a letter to the Times.

"By suggesting that the reign of terror in Argentina is to be understood essentially as anti-Semitism, Mr. Lewis has only further compromised the already precarious condition of Argentina's Jews," he asserted.

"One hopes that Mr. Lewis' concern with the problems of anti-Semitism would also express itself in greater sensitivity than he has shown in the past to the anti-Semitism of the PLO," Mr. Siegman added.

"Unlike the Argentinian dictatorship, the PLO is motivated in the first instance by ideological hatred of the very notion of Jewish peoplehood and a determination to destroy the one and only historical incarnation of the Jewish people's will to survive—the State of Israel," he noted.

"With respect to this obvious, open and direct anti-Semitism, Mr. Lewis has criticized American Jewish leadership for not being more accommodating," Mr. Siegman stated.

"Mr. Lewis is to be commended for having his antenna out," he concluded. "Now let him point it in the right direction."

Siegman is right on one point. The second time that I quoted the sentence in italics, I said it applied to Anthony Lewis's articles. I should have used the singular, article, and made clear that Siegman was referring only to Lewis's column of May 17 and not to Lewis's book review of May 10 as well. I apologize for this error.

Lewis's column of May 17 refers to Argentine anti-Semitism as "widespread and brutal," to "Nazi talk" and "theories of Jewish conspiracy" in Argentine prisons, to swastikas "on the walls of prison interrogation rooms" and to "violent anti-Semitism." It does not say, or suggest, as Siegman puts it, "that what motivates the Argentine junta is an anti-Semitic program to liquidate the Argentine Jewish community." Indeed, I see little in Lewis's column to distinguish his characterization of Argentine anti-Semitism from Siegman's description of it as "singularly ugly and malevolent." As for Lewis's "charges" against American Jewish leaders, they are actually rhetorical questions.

Lewis asks two questions. Referring to a statement by Secretary of State Alexander Haig, Lewis asks: "Is it [the American Jewish community] going to sit quietly by while a high official of its Government says we share values—'a belief in God'—with a regime under which violent anti-Semitism has been practiced?" Two paragraphs later, referring to Under Secretary of State James Buckley's assurances to Congress that the Argentine government was not involved in anti-Semitic acts, Lewis asks: "Is the American Jewish community going to accept such statements, such insults to common intelligence, in silence?" I wish Siegman had answered these questions instead of attacking Lewis.

My article quoted one other sentence of Siegman's statement of May 19, his assertion that Jacobo Timerman "was a threat to the junta not because of his Jewishness—he was not an active member of the Jewish community—but because of his personal commitment to truth, freedom and human rights." I had two reasons for quoting that statement, neither of which I pointed out in my article. It seems appropriate to go into those reasons at this time, however.

First, much to Siegman's credit, the statement seemed to me to demonstrate that he is not one of those trying to smear Timerman. Second, and less creditable, this statement seemed to me to reflect a dangerous naïveté about the nature of anti-Semitism which, I think, has a lot to do with the way that some Jewish organizations have responded to Jacobo Timerman and Anthony Lewis.

To support his view that Timerman was not singled out by the Argentine junta because of his Jewishness, Siegman points out that Timerman "was not an active member of the Jewish community." Let us put aside whether Siegman is right about how active Timerman was in the Jewish community. The much more important question is whether the threat of Jewishness, as perceived by anti-Semites, is in some way commensurate with activity in the Jewish community. It may pain Siegman to have parallels to the attitudes of German Jews raised again, but they are inescapable. Some German Jews who were highly assimilated and who had little to do with Jewish community life deluded themselves into believing that they were secure and that it was only the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WRITERS IN AMERICA FACE A CRISIS.

Rapidly advancing concentration in the communications industry threatens as never before to exclude and silence serious writers who are out of political or literary fashion. Government support for the arts is being slashed. Attacks on writers — libel suits, book-bannings, censorship — are increasing across the country. If you agree that these threats demand an active response, join The Nation Institute and thousands of other writers at THE AMERICAN WRITERS CONGRESS — ROOSEVELT HOTEL, NEW YORK — OCTOBER 9-12, 1981.

WHAT WILL THE CONGRESS BE?

A massive gathering of writers of all descriptions: poets, playwrights, novelists, journalists, scholars, critics, and the associations, guilds, and unions that represent them.

WHAT IS THE GOAL OF THE CONGRESS?

To help American writers deal individually and collectively with bread-and-butter problems, as well as the long-range political and economic trends that threaten the vitality of our written culture.

WHY A "CONGRESS," NOT MERELY A "CONFERENCE?"

Because at a conference people talk; at a congress, people act.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN AT THE CONGRESS?

Panels — Workshops — Caucuses — Hearings — Festivities — A plenary session to consider formal resolutions and ways to continue the work of the Congress.

WHAT ISSUES WILL THE CONGRESS ADDRESS?

Government funding cutbacks — Assaults on First Amendment rights — Interests of writers and publishers: where they converge, where they conflict — Cooperative publishing and distribution methods — Who gets published/produced, who doesn't — More, more, more.

WHO WILL COME?

More than 2,000 writers from across the United States. Publishers, editors, other industry representatives, and foreign writers will also be invited.

THE INVITING COMMITTEE (in formation)

E. L. Doctorow • Doug Ireland • Frances FitzGerald • Kurt Vonnegut • James Merrill • Ed Bullins • Nat Hentoff • John Hersey • Alice Walker • J. Anthony Lukas • John A. Williams • Ishmael Reed • Ring Lardner • Barbara Grizzuti Harrison • Fred Cook • Morris Dickstein • Blair Clark • Studs Terkel • Calvin Trillin • Roger Wilkins • Nancy Milford • Lois Gould • Ellen Willis • Jessica Mitford • Jane Kramer • Evan Connell • Mary Lee Settle • Staige Blackford • Michael Arlen • Donald Barthelme • Penny Lernoux • Alastair Reid • Norman Mailer • Alden Whitman • N. Scott Momaday • Barbara Garson • David Halberstam • Ron Radosh • Alan Wolfe • Alta • Paul Cowan • Katha Pollitt • Lore Dickstein • Jack Newfield • Albert Innaurato • Nora Sayre • Lucinda Franks • Cynthia Arnson • A. W. Singham • *Steve Schlesinger* • *Jane Lazarre* • *Dan* Wakefield • Justin Kaplan • Ann Bernays • R. D. Rosen • Diane McWhorter • Jane Holtz Kay • Ellen Cantarow • Robert Lekachman • Galen Williams • Carol Muske • Ben Sonnenberg • Douglas Day • Robert K. Massie • Marcus Raskin • Frank Snepp • Patricia Bosworth • Leslie Epstein • Peter Stone • Arthur Kopit • Les Brown • Gerald Stern • Herbert Mitgang • Herbert Gutman • Israel Horovitz • Michael Meltsner • Vivian Gornick • David Burnham • Maxine Kumin • Gregory Rabassa • Betty Friedan • Robert Caro • June Jordan • Maria Irene Fornes • Toni Morrison • Peter Schrag • Barton Bernstein • Jeremy Larner • John Oliver Killens • Marge Piercy • Anthony Astrachan • Al Young • Jamake Highwater • Robert Hass • B. K. Moran • Richard Lingeman • Gloria Emerson • Richard Pollak • Marshall Berman • Paul Gaston • Gay Talese • Paul Krassner • R. W. B. Lewis • Kai Erickson • Denise Levertov • Alix Kates Shulman • Barbara Seaman • Gail Sheehy • William Styron • Francine duPlessix Gray • Leon Litwack • Martin Sherwin • Rob Swigart • Lucy Rosenthal • Erica Jong • Robin Morgan • Victor Perera • Grace Paley • Toni Cade Bambara • Wilfrid Sheed • Mordecai Richler • Aryeh Neier • Wallace Stegner • Blanche Wiesen Cook • Thomas B. Morgan • Richard Foreman • James Welch • Rita Mae Brown • Richard Goldstein

The American Writers Congress • New York 1981

A call to the American Writers Congress

The American Writers Congress is sponsored by The Nation Institute, a non-profit organization associated with The Nation Magazine.

We urge you to respond soon because reserved admission is limited.

For more information, call or write:
The American Writers Congress
G.P.O. Box 1215
New York, N.Y. 10116
212/420-0608

☐ YES, I want to register at the writer's rate of $25 per person (non-writers: $100 per person) for The American Writers Congress, to be held at The Roosevelt Hotel, October 9-12, 1981. I am reserving _____ places now. (Non-reserved admission: $50 for writers; $150 for non-writers.)

☐ I am enclosing an additional $_____ to help offset the cost of The Congress. Contributions are tax-deductible within legal limits. Total amount enclosed $_____.

Please make checks or money orders payable to The American Writers Congress. Send to: The American Writers Congress, G.P.O. Box 1215, New York, N.Y. 10116.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

For information call: 212/420-0608

☐ Please send me room rate information for The Roosevelt Hotel.

N3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more visibly Jewish *ostjuden* who were threatened by Nazism. Even in the 1930s, it was late in the day to hold such views. It should have been plain since the time of Capt. Alfred Dreyfus, who was not an active member of the Jewish community in *fin de siècle* France, that the threat of Jewishness to anti-Semites lies elsewhere. German Jews should have seen that the earliest Jewish victims of Nazi and proto-Nazi violence were Jews like Kurt Eisner, assassinated in 1919, and Walter Rathenau, assassinated in 1922. Neither was particularly active in the Jewish community, but both were murdered because they were Jews. In the United States today, anti-Semites do not focus their hatred of Jewishness on active members of the Jewish community. It is wealthy and prominent Jews, especially Jewish owners of major news media—counterparts of Jacobo Timerman—who excite the most paranoid feelings of American anti-Semites. The degree to which such Jews are active in the Jewish community is immaterial to American anti-Semites, as it was immaterial to German anti-Semites in the 1930s and as it was immaterial to French anti-Semites in the 1890s. It is also immaterial to Argentine anti-Semites.

Neither Jacobo Timerman nor Anthony Lewis has suggested that Timerman was arrested and tortured solely because he is a Jew. They do argue, however, that the nature of Timerman's brutalization was determined by his Jewishness and that Jews in Argentina are victimized more because they are Jews. In the last few months, I have met and spoken with several Argentine human-rights leaders, among them Rabbi Marshall Meyer; Robert Cox, the former editor of the *Buenos Aires Herald*; Emilio Mignone, the lawyer and former university rector who heads the Center for Legal and Social Studies in Buenos Aires and the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights; Hebe Pastor de Bonafini, president of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, and Maria Adela de Antokoletz, vice president of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. Each has confirmed what Timerman and Lewis have written about the victimization of Jews as Jews.

Siegman bridles at my comparison of his statements about further compromising the already precarious condition of Argentina's Jews with a statement by Joseph Goebbels. He does not quote the Goebbels statement, which was, "The more they speak of it [Nazi violence against Jews in Germany], the more acute becomes the Jewish question, and once the world begins to concern itself with this question, it will be solved to the detriment of the Jews." My point in drawing the comparison was that it is possible for the greatest enemy of the Jews and for leaders of Jewish defense agencies to espouse the same thing: silence, or muted discussion of anti-Semitism. In Siegman's view, it does a disservice to the Jews of Argentina if the threat to their survival is exaggerated. In my view, I would rather err in exaggerating the threat to Jewish survival than take the risk that the blackmailing efforts of a Joseph Goebbels will again succeed.

Siegman concludes by taxing the left with having previously displayed scant interest in anti-Semitism. It is not clear to me whether this is meant as an attack on me. If it is, Siegman is ill informed. If it is meant more generally, I would agree with him but would add that the comment applies with at least equal force to other segments of the political spectrum. Dealing with this problem is a large task. One small step that I think Siegman and his colleagues might take is to sharpen their own understanding of the nature of anti-Semitism.

My reply to Benno Weiser Varon also follows the sequence of his letter. First, as to his "corrections":

(*1*) I referred to Argentina's attitude toward Israel in the United Nations only by way of saying that I thought this played no part in the way Jewish organizations responded to Timerman. It seemed important to say this because of the widespread speculation that Argentine-Israeli relations, as symbolized by Israel's arms sales to Argentina, dictated the organized Jewish response. As I said in my article, I do not believe this.

(*2*) Once again, Timerman doesn't say anti-Semitism caused his arrest, only that it influenced the nature of his torture.

(*3*) I merely quoted, without comment, what Varon said about the interventions of the White House and the Pope and never suggested that he said they should not have been made.

(*4*) Varon misses the point of my reference to what his article had to say about Timerman's association with David Graiver. The point is made in this sentence from my article: "Varon seems to think that he is rebutting the charges about anti-Semitism when he writes that 'the Jew Graiver was beyond their reach, so they [the Argentine military] wanted to hold onto the Jew Timerman.' "

Varon goes on to attribute a number of statements to Timerman, though he does not say when or where those statements were made. This makes it impossible for me to deny that they were ever said but, to say the least, I have my doubts. For example, the allegation that "Timerman has decreed that they [Argentina's Jews] are all cowards and fools" seems preposterous in view of the fact that Timerman's book is dedicated to a prominent Jewish leader in Argentina, Rabbi Marshall Meyer.

Varon devotes most of his response to my article to the Timerman-Graiver link, yet simultaneously writes that its "importance . . . is unrelated to almost all points that were made." Then why dwell on it, except as a way of smearing Timerman? As to that link, here is what should be said about it: Graiver was long held in high regard in Argentina and, indeed, was appointed to a prominent position in the government; those persons with whom Graiver had financial ties constitute a Who's Who of Argentina; Graiver is suspected by the Argentine junta of a connection with the *montoneros*, but this seems highly improbable and there is little support for this speculation; other than the members of Graiver's family, few persons with ties to him were seized by the Argentine junta (on the other hand, a very large number of journalists who, like Timerman, were critical of the junta, "disappeared"; some 100 missing journalists have never reappeared); the Argentine junta never brought any charge against Timerman involving Graiver. Under these circumstances, while it is only possible to speculate as to the reasons Timerman was arrested (kidnapped might be a better word), it seems likeliest that it was because his newspaper was critical of the junta.

Varon doesn't need to quote Cox about Timerman's support for the government of Argentina. Timerman reports in his book that he favored the military takeover in Argentina as the only way to end the terrorism of the right and of the left. "I maintained," Timerman writes, "that the only recourse left for preserving the existing political institutions was to make use of legal channels in order to put an end to all brands of violence, and that the army was the only group in a position to do this." It was the "disappearances" that turned Timerman against the military junta, and, as far as it is possible to know, this caused his own disappearance.

Varon's line about "tailoring a book to the prospects of a best seller" is simply foolish. Any publisher could tell him that the prospects of a book about human rights becoming a best seller are so remote as not to be worth contemplating. Alfred A. Knopf, Timerman's publisher, somewhat foolhardily initially printed 10,000 copies and obtained orders for 4,000. A series of circumstances that could not have been anticipated has required several additional printings, among them *The New Yorker*'s decision to excerpt the book, Anthony Lewis's extraordinary review, the accident of timing that resulted in publication of the book at the height of the Lefever controversy and the way that Jewish organizations responded to Timerman.

Finally, Varon asks why Timerman waited eighteen months after obtaining his freedom to sound the alarm. Anyone who knows how long it ordinarily takes between the time someone starts writing a book and the time it appears would think that a brief period. Moreover, Timerman has been saying the same thing in enough other ways since he was stripped of his citizenship and expelled from Argentina as to provoke Varon to publish an article attacking Timerman six months before Timerman's book appeared.

Aryeh Neier

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

They Go to Bars After Work, Too

JULES COHN

THE ART OF JAPANESE MANAGEMENT. *By Richard Tanner Pascale and Anthony G. Athos. Simon and Schuster. 221 pp. $11.95.*

THEORY Z. *By William G. Ouchi. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. 283 pp. $12.95.*

THE JAPANESE COMPANY. *By Rodney Clark. Yale University Press. 282 pp. $20. Paper $7.95.*

The secrets behind the success of large Japanese companies are allegedly revealed in two books currently in vogue among corporate executives. *The Art of Japanese Management* and *Theory Z* are written by business school professors who also hire out as management consultants. Though these books claim to provide techniques by which American companies can meet the formidable competition from Japan, they offer neither practical help for business nor reliable information about the work life of the Japanese. The authors use broad brushstrokes to paint a picture of harmony in the Japanese workplace, relying mainly on clichés and stereotypes. Japanese companies are "committed to the welfare of their employees," who live and work together in a spirit of cooperation, enjoying the benefits of "lifetime employment." Japanese companies are said also to be dedicated to "higher-level meanings," including the public welfare.

For a much truer picture, *The Japanese Company* is essential. Rodney Clark, an anthropologist, spent more time in Japan than any of the other authors (more than five years), and he alone actually worked in a Japanese factory (for fourteen months). Unlike the other authors—who present oversimplified ideas, supposedly inspired by Japanese models, for American managers—Clark presents material on the conflicts that are usually part of harmonious work groups in Japan, and a straightforward examination of the facts of lifetime employment.

The Art of Japanese Management is cluttered with lofty phrases about the need to "build great companies" around "superordinate goals" that will "move men's hearts." But the main interest of the authors is to provide American managers with devices for strengthening the influence of the organization on the employee. While they offer numerous paraphrases of the psychological doctrines found in current personnel textbooks, Richard Pascale and Anthony Athos seem to know how to use those doctrines only for the good of the company. Though they occasionally refer to the need to strike a balance between concern for the individual and the aims of the company, their guidelines and gimmicks for managers always serve the latter. Thus, since Japanese workers are said to be inspired by their companies' "creeds" (codes of objectives), American managers are advised to come up with some "glue of belief" that can act as "a kind of 'magnetic north,' pointing everyone in the same general direction."

Pascale and Athos maintain that Japanese supervisors have the gift of "nuance" and "subtlety" in human relations. Accordingly, American managers are advised to cultivate indirect methods of communication. "Hardball personnel decisions" ought to alternate with a softer approach. The Japanese "move knowingly and deftly through time," with a sense of stagecraft, an ability to wait for the right moment, the pause between "anticipation and execution." In this presumptuous book, an entire culture is reduced to formulas for the edification of American managers. There are parables from Zen masters, a pretentious interpretation of the meaning of space in Japanese landscape painting and even a clumsy discussion of Japanese gender differentiation. (The authors chide American organization men for their *macho* behavior patterns and tease them with the image of controllers in Japanese companies willingly assuming the position of "wife" to their division chiefs, staying in the background, providing support.)

William Ouchi's title, *Theory Z*, refers to Douglas McGregor's Theory Y, which holds that people want challenging, useful work. McGregor proposed that the mechanistic, sometimes harsh management style of the time-and-motion era be supplanted by a humane and positive approach. Ouchi, who teaches at U.C.L.A., wants to go further, and would bathe employees with "trust" and "intimacy." He offers a hot-tub theory of management, favorably comparing the Japanese system of "total inclusion" of the employee in the organization to our Western system of partial inclusion, whereby the worker's private life is quite separate from his work.

Theory Z is free of the effort to trade on Japanese culture and esthetics that marks *The Art of Japanese Management*. On the contrary, the book is weighed down with long excerpts from the "philosophies" of well-managed American companies said to have the characteristics of their successful Japanese counterparts. A Type Z company spawns its own corporate culture (Matsushita Electric, I.B.M.). Its ideals persist over time; its employees are united in commitment to its goals. The nature of the goals to which employees and managers are committed in hierarchically organized, profit-making companies is not explored. From the standpoint of society, even if companies were able to achieve the "consent culture" that Ouchi advocates, a key issue would be how the "community of equals" within a given work organization would relate to other organizations and to the larger community. Readers of Clark's book and of other recent accounts, including *The Japanese Challenge*, a study by Herman Kahn and Thomas Pepper, will see that relationships among the large companies are the subject of much controversy in Japan today.

Neither Pascale and Athos nor Ouchi explores any of the important achievements of Japanese society that could really enlighten American managers. Instead of providing clichés about harmony and subtlety, they might have looked into the remarkably effective—and quite egalitarian—system of compulsory primary and secondary education, for it is this system that produces the work force they so admire. Another lesson for industry might be drawn

Jules Cohn teaches political science at the City University of New York and is the author of The Conscience of the Corporations *(Johns Hopkins).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the unwavering commitment on the part of large Japanese companies to provide continual training and retraining opportunities for all employees, along with the company songs and recreational facilities described in these books. (Pascale and Athos do mention education once, but only to disparage General Motors for hiring too many people from "marginal secondary or collegiate institutions.")

The large companies have been the beneficiaries of the official Japanese policy of economic growth in the past twenty-five years, through government measures designed to stimulate and protect investment. As Clark observes in *The Japanese Company*, the position of the company has been one of "nearly unquestioned privilege." Thus the organizations so admired by the business school trio have been allowed "to preempt much of the wealth of the country, and exert enormous influence."

> Firms have been well disciplined precisely because they have been selfish. The inner harmony of the company has depended on an opposition between each firm and others, and each firm and the rest of society. It will therefore be extremely difficult for the Japanese company to maintain its superb discipline, and at the same time learn to be charitable.

Clark's findings are in agreement with observations by many other Japan specialists, among them Robert E. Cole. In his recent comparative study of American and Japanese industry, *Work, Mobility, and Participation*, Cole suggests that a main reason that employees in the large companies seem so committed to their organizations is that they are forced to rely on them for help "to solve some of their major life problems," especially those involving housing, health and leisure time activities. Corporate paternalism, by means of a "structured dependency," has filled the void created by government neglect.

Pascale and Athos cite the founder-leader of Matsushita Electric for his "deep sense of social responsibility." Yet his company was recently the target of a consumer boycott by Japanese women, who accused it of overpricing its products at home in order to sell them more cheaply in America. And the issue of industrial pollution has, of course, long been the concern of environmental groups in Japan; there have been many unfortunate examples of the priority given to companies rather than to communities.

Clark's clear-eyed book provides a helpful perspective on some implications of the lifetime employment contract. To begin with, such contracts are not for life, and the security provided comes at a high price. Nor do they apply to all employees. Only mainstream employees of the large companies receive this benefit. Temporary and part-time employees, frequently brought in to meet unanticipated production pressures, are never covered. Retirement is compulsory by age 55, or as early as 50. In lieu of pensions, lump-sum payments are made to retiring workers, most of whom are then forced to find new jobs. Typically, they work at reduced wages for smaller organizations. The large companies, says Clark, "take the best and most productive years of their employees' lives, and then leave them to look after themselves in their period of decline." Furthermore, Japanese companies do sometimes dismiss employees before retirement age, by subterfuge or by forcing resignations, using pressures within the work group. Thus, in order to maintain one's lifetime employment, it is important to adapt without much hesitation to company requirements.

Now Available:

WHITE PAPER? WHITEWASH!

Philip Agee on the CIA and El Salvador

Edited by Warner Poelchau

- The CIA's history of document falsifications . . .
- The use of AIFLD as a CIA front . . .
- The CIA's work with paramilitary and terrorist gangs
- A line-by-line analysis of the State Department "White Paper" and the phony "captured documents" . . .
- The complete White Paper and the State Department "Dissent Paper" are included as appendices . . .

This 220-plus-page paperback has been published in a limited edition. Single copies are available at $6.50. Bulk discounts are available on orders of 10 (ten) copies or more. Please inquire. Order your copy of this invaluable research tool:

FILL-IN AND MAIL TODAY:

Deep Cover Publications, Inc.
Post Office Box 677
New York, NY 10013

■ Yes! Please send ___ copy/ies of "White Paper? Whitewash!". I have enclosed $6.50 plus $1.50 postage & handling for each copy ordered. (N.Y.S. residents add 8% sales tax.) Send check or money order. Do not mail cash. TOTAL ENCLOSED: _____

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Zip Code _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the question of harmony in the workplace, Clark argues that the good human relations everyone works so hard to nurture are often artificial.

> By the time I left [he writes], departments that had once seemed to me models of "good human relations" had been revealed to be full of animosities and spites. Sections whose members were always to be seen together in bars, and in which the senior men were continually inviting their juniors home, proved to be beset with bitter rivalries. . . . The strain of dissembling, self-effacement, and ingratiation required in [company] life was eased by two processes: transfers and going to bars.

In short, any glorification of day-to-day life in the Japanese company is misguided. Essentially, according to Clark, "men were working to defeat each other to get ahead." Their management styles may differ, but large formal organizations everywhere are likely to be plagued by conflict, whether expressed openly or in other ways.

Perhaps the fad for Japanese managerial methods will cause American executives to take an objective look at some of their own practices, and to discard those that are shopworn. More important, after considering the modishly packaged but meretricious proposals in the new books by consultants, perhaps they will realize the importance of concentrating on substantive issues, including their responsibilities to their employees and to society. □

To a Community of Meaning

ROBERT B. SHAW

EARLY AUDEN. *By Edward Mendelson. The Viking Press. 407 pp. $20.*

W. H. Auden managed in his later years to look most of the time like an unmade bed; his East Village apartment looked as if he shared it with a tribe of gypsies. This personal untidiness on an epic scale was sharply in contrast to the discipline he exerted in his use of language. At times his exacting judgment and passion for detail led him to impose order retrospectively, revising his early poems or excluding them from his canon. He did this for ideological as well as esthetic reasons. "Spain" and "September 1, 1939" were two of the best-known pieces that went out the window.

Such attacks of scruples were not well received by critics in Auden's lifetime, and are still thought by most to have been misguided. It may be that critics, who are keen to impose order themselves, are bound to be grudging of an author who attempts to beat them to the punch. At any rate, the critical climate surrounding Auden is now notably cool. The usual devaluation that follows the death of a major writer has yet to run its course, and even when it does, his later work may yet appear anticlimactic to the same readers who deplore his having purged some of their favorite poems. Auden stands in need of an advocate: In naming Edward Mendelson as his literary executor he had the prescience to provide himself with a formidably resourceful one.

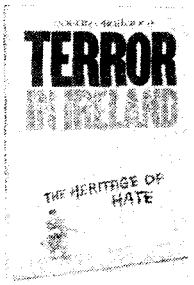
Mendelson has established the text for a *Collected Poems* as Auden would have wished. He has also made available in *The English Auden* the work of Auden's first twelve years as a poet, evenhandedly including those pieces Auden had later rejected. Now, in *Early Auden*, he traces the development of the poet's mind over the period 1927-39, which ended with Auden's emigration to the United States. Mendelson proposes to survey Auden's American career in a subsequent volume. If he carries out that plan with the same energy and acumen that he brings to this book, his commentary as a whole may prove as definitive as the texts he has edited.

Auden was more interested in ideas than most poets, and he was perhaps overly concerned to connect them in coherent systems. He did this more for his own edification than for that of his audience, but his readers have not often understood that the didactic intensity of his verse was primarily aimed at himself. Mendelson sees Auden's early poetry as his attempt to educate himself, a private endeavor paradoxically carried out in public. In the process, the poetry underwent a sea change, the stages of which Mendelson minutely ex-

Robert B. Shaw teaches in the English department at Yale University and is the author of a collection of poetry, Comforting the Wilderness *(Wesleyan).*

TERROR IN IRELAND
The Heritage of Hate

EDGAR O'BALLANCE



A perceptive, cogent statement of what is desired by all sides in the current troubles in Northern Ireland . . . and how a compromise perhaps could be reached.
—Booklist

A full and fascinating account of the struggles of the Irish — both among themselves and against Britain. The story goes back to Brian Boru in the eleventh century — the start of the "heritage of hate" — but the main part of the book is a chronological account of contemporary terrorism in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic.

$14.95 **ISBN: 0-89141-1003**

At your local bookstore or order from:
Presidio Press, P.O. Box 892N
Novato, CA 94948

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
_____ Copies TERROR @ $14.95
Total _____
Calif. residents add sales tax _____
Shipping/handling $1.25/book _____
TOTAL _____
☐ Payment Encl. ☐ MC ☐ Visa ☐ Am. Exp.
No. _____ Exp. _____
Signature _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

amines, charting, in his words, Auden's "difficult passage from a private poetry to a public one, from apparent formal disorder to manifest artifice, and from lonely severity to a community of meaning." He measures Auden's indebtedness to the authors he drew upon in forming his voice and point of view—Hardy, Yeats, Eliot, Lawrence, Marx, Freud . . . and so on, down to the more obscure but oddly more fascinating figures such as Gerald Heard and Homer Lane. Auden appropriated ideas and tones from these writers rather as a magpie makes off with things that glitter. Often he named his sources in his poems, evincing a reverence like that of a medieval poet for "auctoritee."

Mendelson has managed to give a reasonably full account of these eclectic borrowings without getting snarled in a web of cross-reference. He does this, no doubt, by focusing not so much on the ideas themselves as on their concrete presentation in Auden's poems. He gives the reader a map of Auden's imaginative landscape, plotting the positions and relationships of its key images. In making nature a mirror of his moods, Auden took hints from Hardy, Frost, Edward Thomas and others, but the world he portrayed bore the unmistakable stamp of his personal myth. It was a daunting, northern, glaciated terrain, pitted with abandoned lead mines, peopled by feuding bands who could be taken either as truant schoolboys or brutes from the Sagas—or as both. In sum, it embodied a sense of the poet's embattled isolation, and of the social and generational conflict he saw erupting around him.

That is a lot for one poet's vision to encompass. It was Auden's strength that he was able to see "as the hawk sees it, or the helmeted airman," but at times the very comprehensiveness of his view produced a uniquely Audenesque kind of obscurity. The poet is constantly shifting from one plane of reference to another, sometimes with such abruptness that he fails to take his readers along with him. It can be difficult to focus one's response to a poem if it seems at one moment to be about Oedipal conflict and at the next about class warfare. As Mendelson shows, *The Orators* fell casualty to such obscurity, the poet himself undecided upon his aim and viewpoint: "Was he a satiric prophet innocent of the flaws he exposed, or could he speak only of his personal disorders?"

For those who in the 1930s cast Auden as an oracle, it was not only his poetic method but his intensely flexible intellect that promoted misunderstanding. His hairpin turns on certain issues left some of his readers gasping and bewildered. His most considerable change, a resumption of Christian faith and practice, left many of them hostile. Mendelson's pages are filled with rigorous explications of individual poems, but his book is most valuable, finally, for its painstaking chronicle of Auden's many changes of mind. Changing one's mind is allowed and even applauded in a politician. It is odd how unwilling people are to extend a poet the same privilege. Randall Jarrell registered his annoyance with a travesty of Heraclitus: "We never step twice into the same Auden."

There are moments of mere glibness in both early and later Auden, and unfriendly critics have been ready to see his shifting opinions as opportunistic attempts at trend setting. To Mendelson, Auden's changes are a mark of his moral seriousness, his continuing effort to respond honestly to his experience. His sympathy with Auden's later position lends conviction to his defense of many of Auden's revisions, as impressive a defense as we are likely to see. He has made good use of his access to Auden's unpublished manuscripts, both in tracing Auden's intellectual development and in illuminating obscurities in some of the poems. He is able to show that Auden at times changed his mind on a subject not only between one poem and the next but in the midst of writing a single one—"1929" is a salient example.

Mendelson's affinity to the general direction Auden took does not prevent his being critical of moments when the poet's probing intelligence relaxed in facile or inauthentic postures. On many of these points the debate is likely to continue, but Mendelson's careful analysis compels respect for Auden's stringent treatment of some of his anthology pieces. Although one may respond to the rhetoric of a line like "We must love one another or die," it is hard not to agree that it smacks of what Auden came most to distrust in his writing, "the preacher's loose, immodest tone."

Mendelson's assiduousness in tracing Auden's progress reminds one of the

The New Democratic Coalition Invites You To Participate in a Conference For Progressive Political Strategies for 1982:

RUNNING FOR OFFICE: ACTION AND IDEAS FOR PROGRESSIVES

IF YOU SUPPORT:

- A Nuclear Freeze and the SALT Process
- The Voting Rights Act
- The Equal Rights Amendment
- The Machinists' "Rebuilding America Act"
- Reversing Skewed National Budget Priorities
- Termination of U.S. Aid to El Salvador ...

THIS CONFERENCE WILL HELP YOU TO:

- Contact and Work with Other Progressives
- Organize a Campaign
- Recruit Candidates
- Take the Offensive in '82

JOIN US. TOGETHER WE CAN WIN!

November 14-15

The Washington Hilton Hotel • Washington, DC

For further information on Conference program and speakers, contact: National New Democratic Coalition, 201 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002. (202)546-8417

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

range and versatility that graced the poet's work. The discursions on Auden's originality as a love poet, and of his writing for the theater (including a persuasive comparison with Brecht), are apt and unhackneyed. It is always intriguing to note a critic's own enthusiasms for certain works: Mendelson calls the 1938 sonnet sequence on the Sino-Japanese conflict, *In Time of War*, "Auden's most profound and audacious poem of the 1930s, perhaps the greatest English poem of the decade." It is a high claim, but one rereading the sonnets in the light of Mendelson's discussion could well be convinced that he is right. Certainly his analysis of the sequence does justice to what he terms "the harsh crude textures of its verse, its emotional clarity in the face of disaster, [and] the rigor and inclusiveness of its moral logic."

This book has some flaws which, while they do not ultimately detract from its value, may prove mildly irritating. One problem is an awkwardness, perhaps not entirely avoidable, in the structure. Mendelson's approach is basically chronological, but it becomes more and more thematic as the book proceeds, and, as one would imagine, a certain repetitiveness sets in. One feels rather bounced back and forth between the beginning and end of the 1930s; occasionally it is as though we were viewing a newsreel one time too many. Another minor distraction is the author's polemic against Romanticism, carried on intermittently throughout the volume. While it is true that Auden reacted against the romantic tendencies that lingered on in high Modernist authors such as Yeats, Mendelson's treatment of these matters tells us more about his own antagonisms than about Auden's.

Implicit in his discussions of Yeats is an assumption that Yeats subscribed unquestioningly to the brass-bound determinism of *A Vision*, and to the aristocratic values he so frequently extolled. In fact, Yeats appears to have maintained a measure of skepticism about all systems of belief, including his own. It is his half wanting to believe and half resisting the impulse which gives his verse its characteristic tone of impassioned argument. Mendelson will not grant this, and reduces Yeats to a straw man for his convenience. He deals similarly with Wallace Stevens in a particularly gratuitous aside while discussing some poems of Auden's written in unrhymed triplets. Mendelson judges these pieces to be "self-contradictory or inauthentic," and goes on to mention that in the late 1940s Auden "deliberately applied [the form] to fraudulent or unreal subjects." He then remarks:

> Theoreticians of poetic form will note that for Auden the regular unrhymed triplet became a sign of falsity and imposture, while, at the same time, Wallace Stevens—the poet who most eagerly embraced the romantic principles Auden rejected—was adopting it as his characteristic stanza.

To Mendelson, this coincidence is portentous, but it is hard to imagine even "theoreticians of poetic form" losing any sleep over it. This is an example of misplaced, humorless, neo-classic zeal. Fortunately, there are not many such moments. Yeats and Stevens easily survive them, and so does Mendelson's book. □

THEATER.

RICHARD GILMAN

The Tempest

O brave new world
That has such people in't.

I'd better say right off that I left at the end of the first act of the New York Shakespeare Festival's production of *The Tempest* in Central Park, which means I saw about 60 percent of the performance. In my defense, let me say that it was one of the worst evenings of the recent heat wave, and the Delacorte Theater, which lies in a sort of hollow among the hills, would have been better suited to *Don Juan in Hell*. But I'll quickly add that Lee Breuer's rendering of Shakespeare's wonderful last play was so outrageous (in the old-fashioned sense; no smart plea of having stuck it to the bourgeoisie is going to work here) that I'm sure I'd have taken off even if the park had become air-conditioned through a wave of Prospero's wand.

Assured later by colleagues whose sense of duty is finer than mine, or whose masochism is deeper, that Breuer's *Tempest* got no better after intermission, I feel justified in offering 60 percent of a review. Actually, what I want to do isn't so much to review this piece of folly as to put down a few thoughts about why it was perpetrated, why things of its kind are perpetrated so often these days and what such directorial flights of fancy reveal about certain attitudes among us toward theater, the nature of art and, since I might as well go the whole way, history itself.

Now even to question the practice of "modernizing" (hideous word) or "making relevant" (obscene phrase) classic dramas is to risk being accused by a type of avant-gardist of, at best, not being with it and, at worst, of being an enemy of the creative spirit in the theater. At the same time, who would want to be embraced by the Neanderthals whose presentation of Shakespeare rests on doing exhaustive research into Elizabethan England, studying the data we have on the Globe Theater and, in general, acting like curators instead of interpreters? Well, to be any sort of useful critic means one has to resist bullying from whatever direction it comes.

But first some thoughts as I trudged toward Belvedere Lake. I'd heard some dismal reports from people who'd seen previews, the kind of thing I try to discount, but in this case I had my own grounds for apprehension. I'd seen enough productions of classics which

"A rich collection
...an unusually wide range of childhood rituals, routines, sufferings, joys."
—Publishers Weekly
"A choice selection."
—Kirkus Reviews
Growing Up Southern
Southern Exposure Looks at Childhood, Then and Now
edited by CHRIS MAYFIELD
Illustrated with photos. Paper $7.95; cloth $17.95; now at your bookstore
PANTHEON
201 East 50th Street, New York 10022
Photo: Stephen March

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were exemplary of avant-garde silliness (Richard Foreman's *Threepenny Opera* at Lincoln Center a few years ago, for instance) to expect only the worst from Breuer, a practitioner and theoretician whose work with the Mabou Mines had variously struck me as exciting, innovative, murderously boring and profoundly obnoxious. Most to the point was Breuer's nearly deaf ear for language and his thoroughgoing anti-intellectualism rising from a populist, or pop, base. To turn Shakespeare over to him seemed to me to be asking for it.

A glance at the program was anything but reassuring. "Malaysian Dance Choreography" by Marion D'Cruz; "Gamelan Music Composed" by Barbara Benary; "Samba Music Composed" by Nana Vasconcelos. "The Samba Ensemble," whose names I won't list. Ariel played by eleven actors, whose names I also won't list. "Time: This Evening." "Place: An island in Central Park near Belvedere Lake." We were in for relevance without mercy.

The revels began. Raul Julia, whose Prospero, I have to say, was the best performance of the evening, probably because it was the least gimmicky, came on stage and started mixing some potion or other. A little boy ran out, and it took a while to discover that he wasn't part of the play but had escaped from his embarrassed mother in the audience. From the public address system came the strains of "Hi Ho, Hi Ho" and "Whistle While You Work." A toy helicopter figured in some action. The eleven Ariels swarmed on dressed as parachutists (later they would wear other raiment, including loincloths). A Japanese sumo wrestler appeared and stamped his feet before engaging Prospero (or was it somebody else?) in combat.

Then there sidled on a punk Caliban in shades, ragged jeans and an open denim vest, and a Ferdinand in a white vinyl jumpsuit. They were followed by a Mafia group consisting of Alonso (the Godfather), Antonio, Sebastian and Gonzalo, together with a couple of guards (the text says "guards" all right). They all wore various kinds of white suits and big-brimmed fedoras (later they would be stripped down to their underwear; it was really hot in the Delacorte, remember, and Shakespeare doesn't mention the weather) and the guards packed rods. Still later there was a scene with a Trinculo dressed like an 1890s madam and a Stephano whose attire I can't remember.

Caliban spoke in heavy punk-cockney accents, the Mafia guys in Mafia tones—though one of the guards was doing a streetsy Harlem number. Trinculo had modeled herself on Mae West, Stephano on W.C. Fields and Bert Lahr. And there were other pop takeoffs too numerous to mention.

If one had to set down not an *interpretation* of *The Tempest* but its thematic and imaginative constituents, which is all one can really do with any work of art, they would have to include: rightfulness and wrongfulness, usurpation and being usurped, avarice, ambition, the right uses of art and the wrong, restitution, relinquishment, the peace of age that has seen it all. Such is my sense of the play, for which I make no claim of originality, since I'm sure it's shared by many others. I haven't any doubt that Breuer shares it, too, for beneath the chic contemporaneity, the *au courant* put-ons and sendups, the dredging of pop culture, one could discern the rough outlines of traditional meanings, the consensus view of what is being *said* in the play.

Why, then, if the foregoing is true, does Breuer think it necessary to impose on these meanings and significances a mode of appearance, a fleshing out, one might call it, so radically and idiotically at odds with the original incarnation, Shakespeare's own choice of what would body forth his vision? The answer isn't hard to find. The assumption behind all "modernizations" in the theater is that the meanings and values of classic texts will be lost, have already been lost, through the alterations and destructions of time. And from this assumption another follows: that to "redeem" the classics, to enable them to live again, it's necessary to invent new appearances out of the iconography of present reality. Otherwise all is archaism, dim memory, sterile fidelity. "In its present form this play doesn't *speak* to us," is the motto.

Now faithfulness, literal faithfulness, can indeed be a vice, but what the modernizers don't seem to understand is that arid fidelity to Shakespeare is never really to the text but to an idea of the text and, worse, to an idea of what Shakespeare on stage must have been like. But we don't know much about that, and the area of liberty in directing Shakespeare now lies in just that lack of knowledge; you're free to invent what is plausible, what is dramatically sound *in itself*, as long, that is, as what you do doesn't undermine the text.

That Breuer's production undermines the text is evident at every point. What's even less forgivable is that it mocks the text, sending it up, establishing a jazzy superiority to it, as though Shakespeare, deprived of our electronic and other advantages, couldn't help having been a fuddy-duddy. This isn't simply a matter of the visual gimmickry and aural nonsense, the costumes out of *Rolling Stone* and Busby Berkely, the fashionable, irrelevant Eastern music alternating with the score of *Snow White*. Nor is it just a matter of characterizations. I'm not quarreling with Breuer because I think punk and Mafia are undignified or in poor taste but because they have no esthetic weight. In Breuer's teeming brain there was doubtless the conviction that these figures were equivalents for Shakespeare's, when of course they're not, since to our imagination, which is all that counts in drama, they're merely faddish beings, creatures of the *Zeitgeist*.

But at the heart of what's wrong is precisely the infinitely vulgar, infinitely degrading warfare between the language of the play and the modes of expression

'Protest and Survive'
Low Prices for Bulk Orders!

This special issue of *The Nation* (January 24) devoted entirely to E. P. Thompson's profound and eloquent essay on the present danger of nuclear war is available at bulk rates. Handsomely illustrated with the brilliant drawings of Marshall Arisman, it is a scathing refutation of those who teach that nuclear war is survivable—even winnable.

_____10 copies $8
_____50 copies $30
_____100 copies $50
_____1,000 copies $300

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Please make check or money order payable to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on stage. To hear the great lines spoken in black or punk or hillbilly accents doesn't give an effect of universality but just the opposite; apart from losing the music entirely, losing the rhythms between speeches, such *au courant*ism loses the significances too. It does this inevitably, simply through the enormous gap between what these varieties of contemporary speech ordinarily assume as their burden of utterance—what they're equipped to say—and what Shakespeare's speech was designed to do. The one thing we do know about his speech is that it wasn't "contemporary"; he didn't have a "good ear," he invented his language. (He invented his world, too. He didn't put in his program, "Time: Tonight; Place: a Theater in London.")

On numerous occasions the predilections of the kinds of speech being employed, or, less anthropomorphically, the limited imaginations of the pop stereotypes speaking Shakespeare's lines, result in truly hateful perversions of meaning. When, for instance, the punk Caliban bites off "the infections that the sun sucks up," he puts a heavy, sniggering emphasis on "sucks," an implication not lost on the audience, which wants relevance in everything, wants to "score," feel with it, feel superior; they are accomplices in the reduction of the imagination to what it can *prove* about reality instead of what it can reveal.

One can say that everything Breuer does is a type of pandering, a ministering to the audience's dislike of history and mistrust of the permanent. A stage director is in a position to treat works of dramatic art with such high-handedness and contempt; a museum director can't *re-paint* Goya, an editor or publisher can't rewrite Stendhal. Since not even a director like Breuer can rewrite Shakespeare directly—by which I mean he can cut, perhaps, but he can't add lines or change existing ones—he rewrites around the text, in the presumed interest of saving it. But why do the play at all if you're afraid the language is dead (it isn't dead, of course; it never was "alive," it was never real speech but artifact)? Why *increase* the gap between language and bodies, if one exists? Why not leave it alone?

Maybe Shakespeare can't really be done on stage any more. More than a century ago Hazlitt argued that this was so. There *is* such a thing as dramatic literature. Plays can be read for pleasure; I get more from reading Shakespeare than I've gotten from all but a handful of productions. But those prove to me he can still be done. I think of Peter Brook's *Lear*, which was new and original, but untraditional in a way exactly opposite to Breuer's *Tempest*. What Brook did was to strip the play of all its conventional performance baggage, the panoply and pomp, offering a version so visually lean and austere that the language shone through as it hadn't in memory. He had made the play into something "rich and strange," but he didn't impose this. The richness and strangeness were there all the time; the characters didn't need modern counterparts to tell us who, in all their mystery and fecundity, they were. □

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

S.O.B.

Blake Edwards's *S.O.B.* has been sold to the public by a means well known to promoters of prize fights. It is said to be a grudge match—the much put-upon and deeply aggrieved Edwards having written, directed and produced the film as a savage attack on the large dishonesties, petty tyrannies and moral squalor of the Hollywood elite. Maybe so. Edwards, who has been writing, directing, producing and sometimes acting in movies all his adult life, has had his ups and downs with the California screen establishment. He has been the darling of the studios and has spent years in Swiss exile, licking his pride. Now, after the *Pink Panther* series and *"10,"* he is on top once more and from that vantage point has undertaken to flay the sun-tanned skin off the banes of his existence. And the public, scenting blood and lechery, is flocking to the scene of the accident.

As it happens, there is little blood and still less vice, but plenty of malicious entertainment. Edwards has chosen for his weapon a stock Hollywood item, the zany extravaganza, and he knows every meretricious trick in that game of conspicuously expensive vandalism. Accordingly, cars are wrecked by the dozen, houses explode like the packing cases of which they are constructed and bodies fly through the air. The cast is divided into two teams, one of which is coached

THE AMICUS JOURNAL

For the very best in environmental reporting and commentary, people are turning these days to THE AMICUS JOURNAL published by the Natural Resources Defense Council. As its name implies (**amicus** is Latin for friend), THE AMICUS JOURNAL makes no bones about its defense of man and nature, but it can be counted on for fairness and thoroughness. Written in plain English, simply designed and uninterrupted by advertisements, each issue of THE AMICUS JOURNAL offers a wide variety of environmental issues and perspectives. Recent contributors have included Lewis Thomas, Edmund Muskie, Robert Stafford, Paul and Anne Ehrlich, David Lilienthal, John Cole and Cecil Andrus.

In the current issue, THE AMICUS JOURNAL takes a close look at the battle over reauthorization of The Clean Air Act and controversial Interior Secretary James Watt, at why U.S. energy policy is out of control and whether the water in your home is really safe to drink. Now you can be as informed as everyone else who reads THE AMICUS JOURNAL by accepting this introductory offer.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER

Yes, you may enter my subscription(s) to THE AMICUS JOURNAL for one year (four quarterly issues) at the introductory rate of $10.00, a savings of $5.00 from the regular membership/subscription rate of $15.00. (Add $2.00 for foreign subscriptions.)

Name _____

Address _____

_____

_____

If gift, sign card from _____

☐ Check enclosed. This adds an extra issue to your subscription in appreciation for your saving us billing costs.

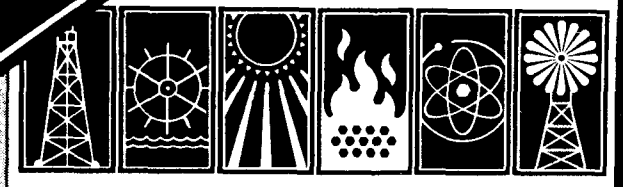
☐ Please bill me.

☐ I am also interested in becoming a member of the Natural Resources Defense Council. Enclosed is an additional contribution of $_____ to be used to support NRDC's efforts to protect America's endangered natural resources and to improve the quality of the human environment.

The Amicus Journal
c/o NRDC
122 East 42nd Street
New York, NY 10168

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SPECIAL TO THE NATION READERS



AMERICA'S ENERGY

Reports from The Nation on 100 Years of Struggles for the Democratic Control of Our Resources.

EDITED BY ROBERT ENGLER

The Energy Crisis

It Wasn't Born Yesterday

To understand how the corporations got the oil (and gas and coal and electricity) and we got the headaches, read

AMERICA'S ENERGY

Reports from *The Nation* on 100 Years of Struggles for the Democratic Control of Our Resources.

Edited by Robert Engler, author of *Politics of Oil* and *The Brotherhood of Oil*, AMERICA'S ENERGY is a compendium of more than 100 trenchant, often prescient articles from more than a century of *The Nation*, documenting the great American resources grab. Contributors include James M. Cain, George Soule, Harry Caudill, George W. Norris, Stuart Chase, Carey McWilliams, Bruce Catton, Lee Metcalf, Ernest F. Hollings, Robert Sherrill, I. F. Stone, Fred J. Cook, Leo Szilard, Norbert Wiener, E. F. Schumacher, Michael Harrington and J. Bronowski. AMERICA'S ENERGY is an indispensable sourcebook for the citizen, the activist and the policy maker, telling how we got in this fix *AND* what to do about it.

"A wise and intriguing book suggesting potential directions for future energy initiatives."

—Publishers Weekly

"A valuable contribution of great interest to the layperson."

—Library Journal

"*The Nation* collection shows that the current 'energy crisis' has a long history in the unequal distribution of power in America and can only be resolved by a popular awakening."

—Tom Hayden, Chair, Campaign for Economic Democracy

Nation Books.

72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011

☐ I want _____ hardcover copies of *America's Energy* at $15.95 ($2.00 savings off the bookstore price).

☐ I want _____ paperback copies of *America's Energy* at $6.35 (20% savings off the bookstore price).

Amount enclosed: $_____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Add $1 for postage and handling (for additional copies add 50¢ each).

B-C

***America's Energy* is the first in a series of *Nation* and Pantheon Books, written by our authors, and offered at special discount prices only to *Nation* readers.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to behave with hysterical lack of prudence or propriety, while the other, a much smaller group, is instructed to deplore these sorry excesses. A world-weary, sour-tongued doctor strolls through the wreckage, administering mind-blowing hypodermics to anyone who offers him a buttock for puncture.

I won't venture into the plot, which is not at all complex but much too eventful for convenient summary. Central to its dotty concerns is Felix Farmer (Richard Mulligan), a prince of producers who has lately burdened his studio with the most expensive and worst-received film in industry history, and who as a result has taken leave of his senses. How he recovers them, what he does to turn his disaster into a triumph and how it happens that he is last seen as the central figure of a Viking funeral is the burden of the tale.

Mulligan appeared several years ago as General Custer in Arthur Penn's *Little Big Man*, a role calling for a good deal of flowing hair. It turns out that he looks a bit like Jonathan Miller, and he has adopted for the Farmer part a cruder version of Miller's erudite lunacy. Julie Andrews, Edwards's wife, plays Sally Miles, Farmer's wife and the star of his dreadful flop. The key to turning that millstone into a bonanza rests with Farmer's ability to persuade Sally, known to millions as America's sweetheart, that she must bare her bosom and hit the prurient jackpot. Others in the cast are William Holden, Shelley Winters, Robert Vaughn and Robert Preston, who wields the unethical needle and rather steals the show.

Who of the Hollywood pantheon is being impersonated here is probably known to every citizen of that town; I don't doubt that the film is causing some personal anguish and a good deal of mean-spirited hilarity among the insiders. But I am not one of them, nor is the audience, and what we see is a great deal of money being thrown at the fan. *S.O.B.* is wildly outrageous but, I would think, innocuous. Edwards may have drawn a bead on some of the most noisome villains in the business, but to the innocent eye it seems he is shooting with gumdrops. I suspect he means it that way; after all, his home is Hollywood and he is back in the swim again. As for the orgy, about which there have been sly whispers, voyeurs would have grounds for demanding their money back. □

CLASSIFIED.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.
ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, N.Y. 11021
212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

SERVICES

INTERIOR PAINTING—Quality work. Call Richard, (212) 564-4989.

CONSTRUCTION. Will build any commercial building for 5% of cost. Any home for 18% of cost of building. Will talk of forming co. with reputable business. Contact Dan Cox, PO Box 384, Orangevale, CA 95662. I have been building for 11 years. Need a good footing.

PROMOTE THYSELF . . . News-style profiles by experienced freelancer are perfect substitutes for impersonal "introductory resumes." THE WRITER, 31 Lake Valley Rd., Morristown, NJ 07960.

RECORDS & TAPES

RAVI SHANKAR MUSIC CIRCLE. The finest Indian classical music on stereo cassette. Free catalog: 7911 Willoughby Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90046.

PERSONALS

SINGLES WHO THINK read & publish in Contact High. Find out why. Free brochure. Box 500-N, Mendocino, CA 95460

WOMAN, 54, creative, communicating, healthy, literate, active, affectionate. Seeks man similar. Write Nation Box 333.

Oriental contacts. Cherry Blossoms, Honokaa, HI 96727.

Over 40? Single? Seeking meaningful relationships? Write Over 40 Clubs, Box 309, West Chester, PA 19380.

Columbia U. student seeks apt. or share on Upper West Side, Manhattan. Beginning August, prefer long-term. Call 280-6070 nights, or write Sam Stoloff, c/o The Nation, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

QUERIES

AUTHOR'S QUERY
For a compendium of erroneous, untrue and just plain stupid statements by experts, we would appreciate hearing of any sources, anecdotes, documents, etc. about inexpert authorities in any field, in any age. Write Nation Box 80.

HELP WANTED

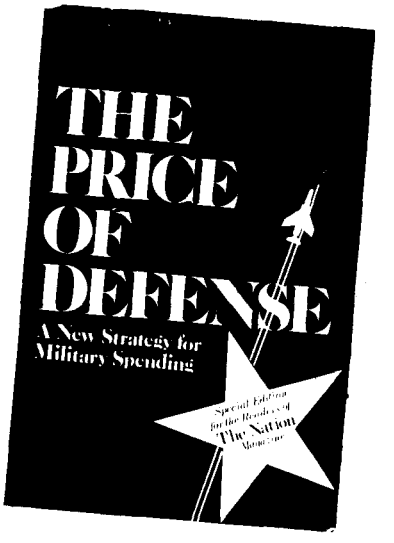
Pretty, young Housekeeper-Mgr., small resort. Inherit everything. Moontide, FL 32459. (904) 267-2394.

THE PRICE OF DEFENSE

A New Strategy for Military Spending

SPECIAL NATION EDITION

only $4.95



The only book where ordinary citizens get a thoroughly researched, intelligently argued presentation of U.S. military capabilities and commitments.

"It is a bold argument that the United States might get more security at less cost. THE PRICE OF DEFENSE has done just that, with facts, figures and in detail."
J.W. Fulbright

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Please send $4.95, plus $1.00 for postage and handling (for additional copies add 50¢ each), to: **PRICE OF DEFENSE, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10011**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

RECIPES

Vegetarian Gourmet Cookbook, only $4.95. Venture Enterprises, 4400 Sarah #2TN, Burbank, CA 91505.

GREAT, SPIRITED PUNCH—Perfect for all summer celebrations. $1. SASE. Clare: PO Box 22472, San Francisco, CA 94122.

VIDEO & FILM

Video Cassettes, 16mm, S8, all ratings home use. Huge cat., $1. THUNDERBIRD, Box 65157N, LA, CA 90065.

REAL ESTATE

CHICAGO BOUND? Live in Oak Park—unique urban suburb. Classic architecture, active diverse population, excellent library and schools. Just 15 minutes from downtown Chicago by public transportation. Free housing referral service—brochures, too. Contact Donna, OAK PARK HOUSING CENTER, 1041 South Blvd., Oak Park, IL 60302. (312) 848-7150.

Rocky Mts., 100 mi. N.W. of Denver. 4A, 2 houses. $260,000. WOODLAND, 10391 Hwy 34, Grand Lake, CO 80447.

Tucson, Arizona. Buy Townhouses, residences, land, motels, apartments. Free information. Reputable Roy Long Realty, 5671 N. Oracle Rd., 85704. M.J. Barrett.

LARGE HOUSE on 24 acres near Oneonta. Pool $55,000. Owner (212) 666-4765.

Philadelphia Suburbs. Lovely, English Tudor, 4 - br's, large studio, 2 acres, trees, secluded, transportation, $190,000. Baker, 638 York, Hatboro, PA 19040.

ST. JOHN, V.I.—Unique hilltop house, views, privacy, pvt. beaches, nat'l park, watersports, sleeps 4-6 venturesome. Off-season rates. KOUMANS, 33 Valley Rd., Arlington, MA 02174.

EVENTS

Does your organization have lectures, movies or rallies to announce? The Nation will advertise coming events of Public Interest Organizations at a special discount rate of 60¢/word. See the coupon in this section for deadlines.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for one dollar from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

CULTURGRAMS: 4-page cultural summaries on over 70 cultures. Send legal-sized, self-addressed, stamped envelope for complimentary Culturgram & publication list. Write BYU/LRC, 245 B-34, Provo, UT 84602.

Read **PHYSICAL FITNESS NEWSLETTER,** Dept. 450, PO 195, Western Springs, IL 60558. $1 Introductory Copy.

DISARMAMENT is the most important problem facing humanity today. The quality of life—in fact life itself—hangs in the balance. For a complimentary booklet "Disarmament in Attitude and Action," write World Goodwill, Dept. N, 866 U.N. Plaza, #566, New York, NY 10164.

WORLD PEACE. Send for the World Goodwill Newsletter, "Between War and Peace," promoting the idea of peace through the use of good will and right human relations. World Goodwill, Dept. N, 866 U.N. Plaza, #566, New York, NY 10164.

WRITERS: LONELY? Discouraged? In THE INKLING writers share inspiration, help. Join us! Sample: $2. THE INKLING/N, PO Box 3767, St. Paul, MN 55165.

THE LIBERTARIAN DIGEST, 1920 Cedar, Rm. 0, Berkeley, CA 94709. Monthly survey & summary of libertarian literature. The libertarian movement in a nutshell. Subscription $8/year, $1 for single copies.

JEWISH FEMINISTS—Read LILITH, the nation's only independent Jewish women's magazine. 4 issues $12. Sample copy $3. 250 W. 57 St., Rm. 1328N, NYC 10019.

LITERARY SERVICES

BOOKS—Used and rare. FREE search service. Send wants to James Books, Box 521B, Brookline, MA 02147.

EDITOR, WRITER, researcher, humanities & soc. sc. access to Library of Congress & govt. docmts. C. McKee, 132 E St. SE, Wash., DC 20003, (202) 543-0784.

BOOKS

"Let Me Die Before I Wake": Read Hemlock's book on self-deliverance for the dying. Membership $15. In 3 months' time you qualify for the book. Price $10. For details send SASE but no money: Hemlock, #101, 2803 Ocean Park Blvd., Santa Monica, CA 90405.

Read Emanuel Fried's working class plays. THE DODO BIRD (one act) $2.50 (UE NEWS: "Most authentic portrayal of workingmen in the history of the American theatre.") DROP HAMMER (3 acts) $4.50 (LOS ANGELES TIMES: "Odets twenty years later. A workingman's play.") Add $1 postage-handling per order, Labor Arts Books, 1064 Amherst St., Buffalo, NY 14216.

"How to Execute an Agency" by E. Waterhouse Allen. Wicked, informed satire about Bureaucratic Types you should recognize! Distilled from 50 years' work in human service agencies. 132 pages, 1st ed., ppd. $3.95, BARK-BACK, Box 235, Glenshaw, PA 15116.

THE TIME IS NOW—limited edition 300 copies, preliminary dogma. Civil Church of Christos, send $3.50 to CCC, PO Box 2064, Key West, FL 33040.

The Nation's Best Crossword Puzzles

Get Book #4 by sending $3.75 (postpaid) to E.S. Lewis, 62 Fort Street, Fairhaven, MA 02719. Or send $8 for a set of all four books by Frank Lewis.

TRAVEL

MOUNTAIN HOT-SPRINGS HOTEL in private valley: sunshine, swimming, massage, rest. Room & meals from $25 daily. Brochure: Apdo 1-1187, Guadalajara, Mexico.

SUN AND FUN IN SAN JUAN

Pvt. house, 5 min. walk to beach, Cont. bkft. $15 single, $22 double, now-Oct. THE BACK PORCH, 147 Calle Delbray, Santurce, PR 00911, (809) 722-6975.

MISCELLANEOUS

49 Biblical Contradictions, $3.00; Discovery, Box 20331-TN, West Valley City, UT 84120.

DIAMOND INFO—CS6800, 1685 Tustin A-200, C.M., CA 92627.

JESUS CHRIST COMING AGAIN? Delusions clarified and corrected. Free Pamphlet. Clark, Box 323-N, Sparr, FL 32690.

X-RATED, illustrated Bible stories (adults only), $3. Discovery, PO Box 20331-TNX, WVC, UT 84120.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

RATES: $.75 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Copy deadline 17 days prior to week of publication. Payment must accompany order.

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for two insertions of your ad, and we will print a third insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. N.Y. 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

ARE
YOU
BUYING
OR
SELLING
REAL ESTATE?

ADVERTISE
IN
THE NATION.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLIC CONCERN

THEMM—The Equally Moral Minority. Fight religious ingoism. ONE OF THEMM button, sample newsletter, $2. Bullock, 5072 Stoneboat Row, Columbia, MD 21044.

DOES THE MORAL MAJORITY SCARE you as much as it does us? Then **do** something about it. Join us. Quality of Life, Inc., 220 Miramonte Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94306.

WISH TO CONTACT people who believe 1) Inflation is the overexpansion of the money supply and 2) We should adopt Irving Fisher's ideas in stable money and 100% money. Jim Cassels, 22 Ridge, Greenbelt, MD 20770, (301) 474-4046.

WHAT'S WRONG? WATT'S WRONG! Interior Secretary James Watt threatens public lands, parks, clean air. Send a message to Congress by circulating a "Replace Watt" petition. Send along SASE to Replace Watt, PO Box N, Sierra Club, San Francisco, CA 94108.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

BECOME A DOCTOR OF NUTRIPATHY by correspondence. Info. $13, refundable. American College of Nutripatny, 6821 E. Thomas, Scottsdale, AZ 85251. (602) 946-5515.

ARE YOU EARNING more money but saving less these days? Do something about it. $10 full price. Guaranteed. BSP, PO Box 4254N, San Rafael, CA 94913.

HEALTH

INSPIRATIONAL REVIEW. New concepts for a better, healthier and more prosperous life. Holistic principles. Free information. Sample issue $5. Box 5610-TN, Los Angeles, CA 90055.

DIABETICS: Before you choose insulin read Diabetic Self-Care book $6; Diabetic Self-Care Newsletter $8. Book plus newsletter $10.50. Sunbeam Books, 23630 Old Owen Rd., Monroe, WA 98272.

FINGERNAIL FUNGUS? Inexpensive cure. $10. No drugs. Write: HMC, PO Box 325-N, Rocky Hill, NJ 08553.

FOR THE COLLECTOR

FAMOUS LAST LETTERS
BY
Joan of Arc, Henry IV, Marie Antoinette, Napoleon and more; one single set of actual letters, reproduced by the Paris Museum in 1935, available for sale. Nation Box 213.

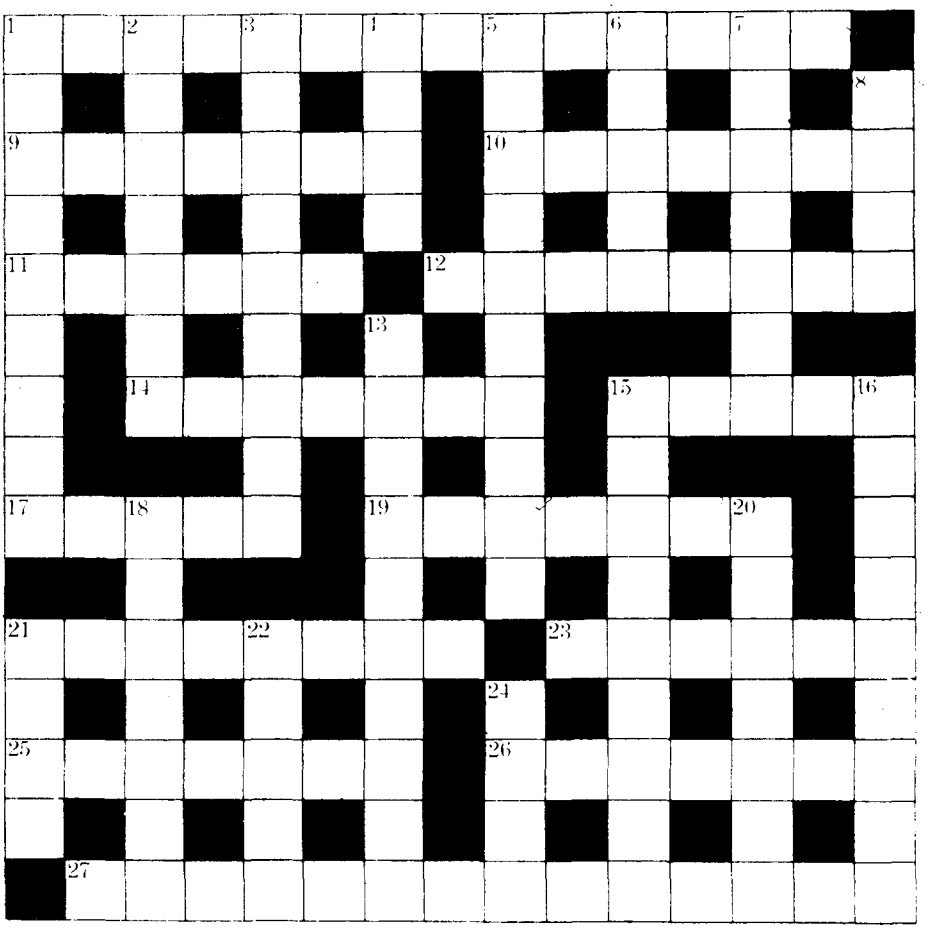
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1877

F	U	L	L	F	A	T	H	O	M	■	F	I	V	E
I	■	O	■	A	■	E	■	F	■	A	■	N	■	V
S	L	A	M	M	E	R	■	F	I	N	E	S	S	E
H	■	F	■	I	■	M	■	T	■	D	■	I	■	N
S	W	E	L	L	W	I	T	H	P	R	I	D	E	■
T	■	R	■	Y	■	T	■	E	■	E	■	E	■	A
I	N	S	I	S	T	E	D	■	S	W	A	R	M	S
C	■	■	■	K	■	■	■	■	C	■	■	■	■	T
K	I	S	M	E	T	■	P	R	E	A	C	H	E	R
S	■	A	■	L	■	F	■	I	■	R	■	A	■	O
■	F	I	R	E	P	R	E	V	E	N	T	I	O	N
C	■	L	■	T	■	A	■	U	■	E	■	R	■	O
U	N	I	C	O	R	N	■	L	E	G	R	O	O	M
F	■	N	■	N	■	C	■	E	■	I	■	I	■	E
F	A	G	S	■	B	E	S	T	S	E	L	L	E	R

SPECIAL DAILY SYNDICATE AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS UNION NEW YORK X-523

Crossword Puzzle No. 1878

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Traditionally fish is something to kick around! (4,3,7)
9 See 15 down
10 and 2 down Not one of those 17-9 for dates at the Capitol. (3,4,2,5)
11 Woven cord, in settlement of the race. (6)
12 The armorer must nigh forge it! (8)
14 Bargains, in a small way. (7)
15 Not coming back to a little state in the South Pacific? (5)
17 Happy to go with this? Care-less, in a sense. (5)
19 Might be descriptive of junk, and some checkers so called. (7)
21 They might be paid as a matter of policy. (8)
23 Come a little short, but well-suited for a little bit to eat. (6)
25 Putting on weight, or just slowly catching up? (7)
26 Compared to, or at least similar to Mr. Buntline. (7)
27 Straight, but in comparison it sounds like a flap! (2,3,4,5)

DOWN

1 and 21 down A good place to look for a business account. (9,4)
2 See 10 across
3 Going for elvers? Fly around it, with lots of emotion! (9)
4 Descriptive of the hour associated with the press. (4)
5 One can't engage in it if the track is cold. (It suggests a summer following.) (3,7)
6 Employers of various ersatz material. (5)
7 Had an outbreak of rain, but something of his ran clear across England. (7)
8 Otherwise Chas. Sholom? (4)
13 Old in song, its purpose was traditionally evil. (5,5)
15 and 9 across Telephone directory—or that little black one? Not if it's a clerical accounting! (3,4,2,7)
16 Just as a general is tried as badly? (9)
18 Important accompaniments of course, and they might be given with a picture. (7)
20 One may be pleased to hear it in eastern Mediterranean countries. (7)
21 See 1 down
22 A traditional 17 race. (5)
24 Perhaps a lot of singers are like this sometimes. (4)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If You're Worried About the Country, Try *The Nation*

Are you terrified by talk of "limited" or "containable" nuclear war?

> "The notion of a limited nuclear war has been around for a long time in American strategic thinking. . . . It is, perhaps, the most dangerous, as it is the most irrational, of all the spells that the 'alchemists' have cast. For it is in the name of 'surgical strikes' and 'menus' of 'options' that nuclear warfare is being made thinkable—and therefore possible or even probable—once more."
>
> —*E. P. Thompson,* The Nation, *Jan. 24, 1981*

Do you fear the new proposals for "unleashing the intelligence agencies," legalizing wiretapping, bugging and break-ins, and putting informers into anti-nuke organizations? Are you wondering why Senator Strom Thurmond has organized a new Security and Terrorism Subcommittee?

> "The danger represented by the Security and Terrorism boys is that they will move, with the support of the Administration, to legitimize the illegitimate, to make respectable that which was previously done only undercover because it was fundamentally shameful."
>
> —*Victor Navasky,* The Nation, *Feb. 14, 1981*

Are you shocked by military budgets that go higher and higher while funding disappears for legal services, health and food programs, and scholarships—in short, the programs which help the poor?

> "Masquerading as prudent economizing in the interest of all Americans suffering from inflation, the Reagan budget's real purposes are ideological, aiming to shift the burden of the society ever more unfairly onto those least able to bear them."
>
> —*Editorial,* The Nation, *April 11, 1981*

If these trends alarm you, read *The Nation,* America's oldest political weekly. Our writers regularly address these issues and many more, writers like Kurt Vonnegut, Frances FitzGerald, E. L. Doctorow, Nicholas von Hoffman, Robert Sherrill, Calvin Trillin and Fred J. Cook, as well as newcomers like Anne Nelson, Tom Ferguson and Joel Rogers, and Christopher Hitchens.

THE NATION is a journal of opinion that arms you with facts.

Now you can try 16 issues of *The Nation* for just $11.95. And if you enclose payment, we'll send you FOUR ADDITIONAL ISSUES FREE OF CHARGE! Fill out the coupon below and send it in today.

The Nation.

P.O. Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 16 issues of *The Nation* for $11.95, a savings of 40% off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!

☐ Please bill me later.

NAME _____
(PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Add $3 postage for each foreign subscription. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8129

SEND *THE NATION* TO A FRIEND! (And save $2.)
Please send 16 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $11.95 for the first and $9.95 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

GIFT TO _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Enclosed is $ _____ for _____ subscription(s).
(Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)

☐ Bill me later.

D8129

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED